

### UNIVERSAL TRAINING for CITIZENSHIP and PUBLIC SERVICE



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# UNIVERSAL TRAINING for CITIZENSHIP and PUBLIC SERVICE

#### BY

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#### **FOREWORD**

Until-after-the-war is a new word that has vital meaning to the world. Until-after-the-war is a qualification for all our thinking and planning. We shall fix maximum prices until-after-the-war. Restaurants will close at midnight until-after-the-war. Economies will be enforced and business men will advise the government until-after-the-war. A celebrated divine issues a summer letter to his parish suggesting "that all alcoholic beverages be banished from your tables and that you refrain from their use" until-after-the-war!

In spite of warnings that we shall be carrying on war for generations to come, the whole world refuses to plan farther ahead than until-after-the-war.

Many of the higher levels and higher tensions that have been necessitated by the war will be held only until-after-the-war. We cannot keep communities organized for knitting and canning. We shall not continue our mass meetings and parades. When peace comes radical readjustments in personal and business habits will seem immediately necessary. Our patriotic ardour will cool. Wartime spirit will gradually evapo-

rate. One of the great problems for all countries will be how, while removing war's wreckage, to guarantee the permanence of its benefits and to direct its momentum toward rebuilding what war has torn down, and realizing ideals which war evils have disclosed.

Many steps that are accepted as reasonable during the war will after-the-war seem unreasonable because not so obviously necessary. Some nations will retain prohibition; others will go back to the sale of intoxicants and fight out the issue of prohibition on the basis of normal forces. Some nations will retain the governmental control and ownership which have seemed clearly indispensable for the prosecution of war; others will go back to private ownership and begin again the debate about the exact proportions of public and private control which are best suited to encourage citizens in activity and fairness.

To formulate for lay-students of public affairs certain minimum aims and steps which are entirely within the reach of the general public is the purpose of this book. It is not for specialists although it lists ways in which the country can secure public-spirited service from its specialists in peace as well as in war.

There is no suggestion here which a layman cannot count among minimum essentials for himself to know and to require. Any reader who wants further information can quickly secure it. Any one who possesses what is here digested will have a good start in training for citizenship and public service. He will see that the end of the war will be but a signal for new patriotism to apply what it has so painfully learned about the menace of untrained patriotism and the cost of unpreparedness for citizenship.

No attempt is made to forecast the ultimate settlement of issues regarding which there seems to be a reasonable basis for division among public spirited citizens. No one can be sure about the when, the what, and the how of the next steps in settling controversial questions. Effort has therefore been confined to listing aims and next steps that are feasible everywhere and at once.

Names and addresses of private centres of information have been omitted, partly because names and addresses frequently change, and partly because the habit of looking to a few sources of information is among the minimum essentials of trained citizenship. The efficient citizen would better look for names in a city or telephone directory than carry about a home compiled directory. For information about schools the short cut is to send questions to the national bureau of education or to state departments of education. For health facts it is best to look to the national children's bureau and to local and state health departments. In the field of volunteer civic work there are a few centres which may always be counted upon to act as switchboard central, and either to answer promptly any question or

to connect the questioner with the answer. These centres of information include your favourite newspaper or magazine, your local library, the municipal reference library of New York City, the Wisconsin state legislative reference library at Madison, *The Survey* and *The American City*, both at New York City.

In addition to minimum essentials that are necessary in training privates for citizenship, the reader will find other minimum essentials which citizens should require of training for drillmasters, for entering and remaining in public and semi-public service, and for the professions. Three further chapters indicate the country's need for specialized training for parenthood, for public-spirited use of special gifts, and for creative imagination and devoted attention in using war's lessons after-the-war.

At no time in our history has it been so necessary for all of us to think nationally, constructively, cooperatively, and with a desire for service, as it will be after-the-war.

For such nationwide co-operation universal training for citizenship and public service is needed and is practicable.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

October 1, 1917.

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# Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service

#### CHAPTER I

#### THE NEW PATRIOTISM'S COMMENCEMENT DAY

The most beautiful epitome of Democracy's achievement and promise is our American public school Commencement Day. Year after year neighbourhoods expanience this spiritual reawakening with results that surpass any benefits obtainable from our universities, great as they are. Stop universities, and these humble public school commencement days would generate new universities over night; stop these commencement days and Democracy must begin its fight anew.

Children of rich and poor sit indistinguishably side by side. Parents and grandparents of all countries and all incomes, younger and older children, and not infrequently infants in arms, make up the responsive audience. The stars and stripes are draped over the stage and about figures of speech; national anthems are sung by young and old; graduates sing, speak, dance and beam with appreciation, ambition and confidence. After eight or twelve years of undramatic, tiring routine, and of home sacrifices that are no less taxing because hidden from the world, this dramatic climax in tears and smiles of joy and gratitude is called Commencement Day.

The juniors whose turn comes next year and the next feel that it should be called ending day. But active participants in the drama of relief, revelation and hopefulness are glad it is called Commencement Day,— the beginning of a new cycle of trying and doing, not only by the graduate, but by his family and by the locality whose justification for supporting free schools is that they will make citizens imbued with the motto: Enter to learn, Leave to serve,

Most levelling processes level down; not so our public school Commencement Day, which always levels up. Broker and banker applaud the barber's boy who leads his class. The Yiddish grandfather of the class president sees the same vista ahead as the New England grandmother of the graceful girl who leads the folk dances, and both look with the idealistic vision of the graduates themselves. Careful mothers forget their pride in their own children as the once harum-scarum daughter of the neighbourhood drunkard moves the audience by her character and her confident idealism so courageously maintained, while hardened men gulp as the joy-sobered father timidly and with

tear-filled eyes thanks the principal for "all you have done for my girl."

For a world of nations the end of the war of 1014-17 will bring emotions akin to our Commencement Day emotion. No matter what the details of the outcome may be, America has promised itself and all humanity that the outcome shall spell democratic opportunity, shall "make the world safe for Democracy," and "Democracy safe for the world." Unfortunately the world has no other single roof except the sky under which to celebrate with a single program of song and thanksgiving its completion of this grave cycle of effort and sacrifice. It will sing the song just the same, and will shout and breathe its thanksgiving. Feace will bring a new day, Commencement Day, for the new patriotism. We see it coming; as a nation we should have our commencement dresses and addresses and diplomas and next steps ready. The only readiness for universal opportunity is universal training for service, and the only service which will breathe the new patriotism is the service of citizenship for and with our fellow citizens.

For the first time in our history, we find ourselves thinking of our individual patriotism as a world force. As was recently written of the "war as critic," the chief moral result of the war thus far is that it has "shattered the egocentric universe" and has helped and compelled us all, tutored and untutored, poor and rich, self-centred as well as altruistic, to live "at the centre of the world." The fact that some of us are taking advantage of the situation for selfish ends and are even at times polluting the sources of public information is not escaping public attention and only brings into bolder relief the patriotic unselfishness and self-abnegation which mark the rank and file. The unforgettable fact is that the people themselves have the vision without which peoples perish.

A new content is given to our patriotism, which from now on will mean much more than love of one's home. one's district, one's college, one's country or vainglorious pride in our bigness, our tallest skyscrapers, our fastest express trains, our largest farms, our cleverest inventors, our generous immigration policy, our lavish expenditures for education. Today's patriotism has less of pride and more of obligation. It is the patriotism of ideas, idealism and duty rather than of geography, material possession and achievement. Race lines are abolished, district lines are wiped out, oceans join where before they separated. Traditions of centuries are made over until they are as old in association and as new in detail as Lincoln's jackknife. To the world of non-combatants and combatants alike, to the soldiers and masses of both sides. patriotism has grown to mean obligation leavened with willingness to make sacrifices for the freedom of nations and of fellowmen within nations

Where yesterday patriotism was saying, "Why don't they do something?" today it is asking, "Why can't I do something? What can I do?"

Individual and family dreams of opportunity and worthwhileness have become living realities. Everyday people are feeling as poets feel and talking as poets talk. In fact, one of the phenomena of this wartime is the discovery by poets of all nations that their thoughts and feelings differ so little from the thoughts and feelings of the humblest private in the trenches and the humblest parent at home that being a poet is no distinction and gives no privileges. In every walk of life men and women and children who read today's story of struggles abroad and of plannings at home find themselves dramatizing history, philosophy and religion. Everybody has become an economist, a sociologist, a statesman. Mind, heart and body of individuals, communities and nations join and radiate as one unit in their definition of what humanity owes humanity.

The supreme call to service has found our nation supremely susceptible to Democracy's appeal: never was the slacker so unpopular or so rare, never so dissatisfied with himself, and never so impoverished for plausible explanation. With exceptions which only accentuate the rule, we are echoing the sentiments of the father who travelled from his Kentucky mountain home to a New York court room to tell the judge that

his boy's refusal to register had been an unaccountable mistake which would be promptly rectified because "there ain't never been no slacker in our family."

The scrubwoman of the city skyscraper coming to work at sunrise, the isolated farm wife whose work is never done, and the former woman spendthrift of time and money are forgetting the non-essentials that made them different, and are giving time to the essentials that now make them alike. Opera singers, band leaders, architects and sportsmen give up their specialties and dig trenches, carry a gun, manage an airship or perhaps entertain the soldier boys in home barracks and foreign trenches. The multimillionaire foregoes profits or in his heart welcomes a national tax on his excess profits, gives up his vacation to serve on the Council for National Defence, and finds new happiness in work that brings no preferment. The soulless corporation buys Liberty Bonds and declares special dividends for the Red Cross. Two thousand "practical conservative" merchants at luncheon applaud the financier who ringingly declares "we must consider our time and our capacities subject to selective conscription on the part of the government, unconditionally and upon the shortest notice."

To revolutionary proposals by Congress and the President the nation has adjusted itself almost without a creak. Governmental restrictions and concentration of authority heretofore considered un-Ameri-

can have been accepted as the very essence of American patriotism. We are to limit prices at which private individuals may sell food, coal and munitions, not only to the government, but "to the people who are now as much a part of the government as the army and navy themselves." We are to tax excess profits, prevent the diversion of food grains to the making of whiskey, stop shipments of food and coal to high bidding neutrals, take one-third of larger incomes, and censor mail, telegrams and cables. Further innovations are locally enforced and patriotically submitted to: women may not enter places where liquor is sold; saloons are closed at the early hour of 10 P. M. and opened not till the late hour of 8 A. M.; suburbanites accept without a grumble material reductions in the number of passenger trains in order that railroads may free their tracks for freight. And not only have the so-called radical elements approved these steps, but so-called conservative elements have demanded them. Unexcitable editors and capitalists have vied with excitable theorists in the assertion that these radical steps are needed

If the halting of voluntary enlistment to the army and navy seems an exception, it must be remembered that the tardiness of many to enlist is partly due to sincere belief that our entering the war was wrong, and largely due to the early recognition of the fact that this is a national, not an individual problem, and that

a broader basis for recruiting field forces must be found than the individual's own choice or judgment as to whether it is better for him to work in factory, store, airship or trench.

For injecting ideals of service by ourselves as individuals into our present definition of patriotism, the terrible war has earned our gratitude. Even after small towns and great cities, working classes and leisure classes had alike outdone all expectations in spontaneous organization for selling Liberty Bonds and aiding the Red Cross, we found it difficult to believe what was being enacted right before our own eyes and with our own participation. For two billion dollars of Liberty Bonds, over three billion was subscribed; toward one hundred million requested for Red Cross work, one hundred eighteen million was subscribed, and through it all we were talking of the second call soon to come!

Nor were the prompt replies to calls for service limited to women of leisure, social workers, engineers, doctors and business men; on the contrary, public officers and employés who were already carrying more than reasonable loads took on heavy extra duties. At 10.30 o'clock in the morning a health department was asked if it could furnish the government food commission with certain facts about the maximum price which bakers can pay for flour and still return to the poor man the pound of bread for five cents; at 11

o'clock that same morning, fifty health inspectors had been detailed to secure within twenty-four hours, information from five hundred small bakers. Similarly, a director of public school instruction in cooking immediately asked one hundred and eighty-eight cooking teachers each to see three neighbourhood bakers. After it became clear that we must equip ourselves for war, the suggestion had hardly been made that the schools might help before veritably millions of children in elementary and high schools, country and city, were doing their bits with needle and with hoe. Except for the details, ten thousand schools might duplicate the accompanying story of two months' work by one school.

Another manifestation of this new patriotism promises much for Democracy: namely, the attitude of the country's newspapers after neutrality was abandoned. Papers, which for over two years had openly sympathized with the Central Powers and openly criticized the Allies, instantly discontinued all such partisanship and became earnestly pro-American, even though at times reluctantly pro-Ally. Editors who until the last minute wrote and spoke to their utmost to prevent our declaration that war existed "of Germany's making" promptly bowed to the congressional majority and henceforth not only suppressed their personal convictions, but consistently supported government policies. Moreover, during the very weeks when

#### Some of the Patriotic Activities

of

#### One Girls' High School Somewhere in America

Sewing: (Under the direction of Miss A)

1036 hospital bed shirts

356 pajama coats

356 pajama trousers

38 surgeons' operating gowns

420 convalescent robes

2206 garments

250 pairs bed socks

120 Red Cross flags (about 40 large ones for base hospitals and the rest smaller ones for the ambulances)

**Knitting:** (Under the direction of Miss B)

400 articles simpleted, including 49 sleeveless jackets, 19 prs. socks, scarfs, wash cloths, sponges, chin bandages, etc. All cotton articles have been laundered by our girls before they were sent away

Raising of food plants: (Under the direction of Miss C)

Hundreds of little plants have been started and made ready for transplanting, including cabbage, tomato, lettuce, parsley, endive, pepper, egg plants, etc

Ambulance fund: (Under the direction of Miss D)

Whirlwind campaign raised enough money for the ambulance, the cost of transportation and has left a balance of \$69.61 which has been placed in Savings Bank to the credit of Ambulance Fund

Fracture pillows: (Under the direction of Mis- E)

200 fracture pillows completed

Liberty bonds: (Under the direction of Mr. F)

About \$25,000 worth purchased through school savings bank, of which the girls subscribed for \$6,000 and the teachers for \$19,000. Teachers also subscribed for about \$10,000 worth of bonds through other agencies

Money contributed by teachers and students to the Red Cross work—about \$1100

The posters of the Art girls and clerical work at Red Cross Headquarters of our Library and Commercial girls, should also be mentioned Congress was threatening to tax newspapers, as they believed unreasonably and to the nation's injury, these threatened petitioners gave advertising space worth millions upon millions of dollars to promote the sale of Liberty Bonds, and by a masterful educative campaign convinced the nation that the government's proposal to limit free discussion of governmental policies and possible governmental blunders would injure the people and obstruct the very end that it was designed to further.

Three other facts about this new patriotism bear upon our program of universal training for citizenship and public service:

- (1) There is no higher form of patriotism and no better evidence of previous training for citizenship than is shown when those who do not yet agree with the nation's leaders or with the majority of fellow citizens frankly, forcefully and persistently voice their questions, protests and suggestions.
- (2) In every walk of life, men, women and children are early and late discussing individual duty and national obligation.
- (3) Because the new patriotism emphasizes obligation and opportunity rather than rights, it will reduce to a minimum the rancor and resentment that must outlive the return of peace.

Where patriots acknowledge no differences of opinion there can be but little progress and but a shal-

low and fickle patriotism. Any nation which confesses that it will reap benefits from war, in spite of — yea because of war's horrors, must also freely admit that it will profit from frank expression of opposition to that wer and frank challenge of majority statements. The discipline in listening, analysing and arguing which is being gained by those who have heard the minority view will prove to be one of the country's greatest assets in the building up days of peace. For example, a family which has five cousins at the front in France was visited by a university professor during the time when the United States was neutral. The boy of ten asks, "On what side are you, uncle?" The professor answers: "I think I'm neutral; I am sorry to discover, however, that most other people think me strongly pro-German." Thereafter follows a discussion of the war's origin, the position of the great nations before the bar of history, their present and future economic status, their respective means of publicity, etc., which those children can never forget and which will make it easier for them to meet personal and national crises with attempts at straight thinking based upon careful analysis of facts rather than upon plausible special pleading.

The desire to do one's part at whatever sacrifice of time, money and life which today is almost universal in our land, is one of those great emotions without which the historian Taine says "no man has done great things." Nor has any nation as a nation done great things without great emotion, even though nations as such have now and then profited by great things done by individuals with and because of great emotions. Shocking as is the thought that any good can come from such unspeakable wrongs as this world war, yet the fair mind would say that it were better to endure the wrongs than forego the effects.

Better still is the suggestion which is taking deeper root every day in the emotions of all races, that without the horrors of war there is a way of achieving effects superior to any which this war will bring. As Bernard Shaw said a few years ago about San Francisco's blundering attempts to improve her government and her final resort to an earthquake: "It was undoubtedly efficacious, but the trouble is that earthquakes are unreliable." Wars, too, are unreliable. We cannot afford to wait for world wars to gain any benefits the human mind can picture. No benefit from this twentieth century war is more important than its proof that to prepare nations and all mankind against the recurrence of war is an infinitely greater service than to prepare for a possible next war.

Can we use these new ideals? Can we reservoir our

new emotions for higher citizenship and public service? The hearts of all of us will echo the following sentiments from the New York Evening Post:

"We should hate to think that the enthusiasm and zeal which prompted these notable endeavours will pass away with the special emergency. The question we cannot too soon begin asking is whether the country cannot keep on, after the war, utilizing these vast forces for the public weal of whose existence we were almost unaware. . . .

"Looked at from a just standpoint, the labours to be undertaken when the war ends will be as important and appealing as those imposed by its continuance. There will be a vast work of readjustment to grapple with. It will extend to many fields - financial, industrial, social, political. It is a commonplace that the world can never be the same after this disintegrating and distorting war. It will have to be made over. America as well as Europe will have to tackle an enormous job of reconstruction. Men cannot wring their hands and say: "Well. God mend all!" In the spirit of the old Puritan they must cry out: "Nay, but we'll help Him to mend it." If the United States is now assured that it possesses a stock of unused talent, ready to spend itself for the common good, it is certain that all of it can be worthily employed in the coming days of peace."

Can we devise means of universal education and training which we can use like thermos bottles and refrigerating plants for conserving methods and convictions that make for higher citizenship and public service? Our answer is a frank admission that it will

be impossible to keep up our wartime tension; that as school graduates crave forgetfulness of the trappings and suits of school routine, so on the Commencement Day marked by peace our country will crave forgetfulness of the trappings and the suits of war including universal military training itself; but that nevertheless there are major lessons which can be permanently stored and utilized for universal and progressive application

These permanent lessons are grouped in the following chapters under thirteen heads which in turn express four minimum essentials, four convictions which every citizen who understands simple English words can adopt as a working program:

- (1) No country is rich enough or strong enough to rely upon untrained patriotism.
- (2) Universal training for citizenship and public service is possible.
- (3) Every citizen can be trained not only to acquire for himself the minimum essentials for privates, but to demand definite and exacting minimum standards for five other citizen groups,—drill masters and teachers, civil servants, the learned professions, parents, and the specially gifted.
- (4) L'avenir est magnifique the future is glorious but that glory must be achieved not stumbled into. must be consciously worked for as an ideal of equal opportunity for all to become efficient as citizens and servers.

#### CHAPTER II

#### THE MENACE OF UNTRAINED PATRIOTISM

The idealist finds it hard to face the fact that an obligation so personal and an emotion so spiritual as patriotism need training. We appreciate the feeling that before our country's flag we are all equals in devotion. We are thrilled to new confidence in our own destiny when a presidential message tells us that while we cannot all bear arms, we are, nevertheless "all equal in ability to use our all of mind and body and means for our country's good." We dread the creeping power of standardization, which like the travelling glacier conquers one territory after another of human activity for "economy and efficiency" and ever after requires a certificate for admission. We want some place in our life for spontaneous unregulated idealism.

Trained patriotism! Are we then headed toward a national demand for trained love of one's own flesh and blood, trained loyalty to one's co-workers, trained gratitude for favours received, trained response to beauty, trained integrity, trained humanity? We are, and for a long, long time we have been headed toward

special training for enjoyment and use of all God-given and man-discovered powers. And without being fully conscious of it, we have in many ways and places been recognizing the need for trained patriotism and the menace of untrained patriotism.

History teems with proof that patriotism can spill over, evaporate, burst its pipes, miss its mark, be wasted, injure where it longs to help.

Our boys in blue were as patriotic when they were being stricken down by Cuba's typhoid fever as when winning San Juan's Hill. The earlier boys in blue while running in disorder from the enemy, with Sheridan twenty miles away, were just as patriotic as when a few minutes later defeating the enemy behind Sheridan returned from Winchester.

Misled patriotism filled up the sunken road of Waterloo with French heroes while English patriotism was taking advantage of that catastrophe.

Unequally trained European patriotism gave unequal results in 1914, and precipitated a devastating world war: procrastinating patriotism caught England napping, unprepared, incompetent and wasteful; grafting officials left French and Russian patriotism unduly open to attack; misinformed patriotism led the Rumanians into a trap of their own making. It was lack of preparedness to see straight that produced the English slacker and prompted the English labour union

to strike for higher wages at a time when war threatened their power to earn any wages. It was blindfolded patriotism that led German and Austrian fathers and mothers to demand a war of frightfulness in the name of freedom and to idealize poems of hate when in their hearts they have piteously yearned for respect and love.

Patriotism exposed to smallpox and other plagues decimated armies until vaccination and modern sanitation made it healthier to be in bivouacs than in factories, schools, or homes.

Farmers were just as patriotic when they asked the moon about planting crops as they are today when they know the essential facts about grains and soils and sequence of crops.

American patriotism for thirty-two years left the Statue of Liberty — gift of sacrifice and gratitude from the children of France — unlighted for want of funds, while we were pouring tens of millions a year into "pork barrels" and other government extravagances.

Philadelphia when corrupt and tainted was patriotic even though pitifully benighted.

Intoxication does not reduce a man's patriotism, but does annihilate the value of his patriotism and make a menace of it.

With its eyes open, patriotism would never vote against its own interest, yet misguided patriotism has

repeatedly placed in power men who only robbed and hampered their publics and prosperity.

Patriotism can be unhappy from disappointment, from loss of opportunity, from experiencing the tragedy of defeat.

"There is many a hero in the losing fight And as gallant deeds are done As ever graced a captured height Or a battle grandly won."

Untrained patriotism invites destructive spring freshets and floods and summer droughts and hurricanes. It is as necessary to build reservoirs and dikes for our patriotism as it is to restrict and train the waters of Ohio's rivers to serve without destroying.

The willingness to delegate constitutional powers of self-government, freedom of discussion and leadership in thought to popularly elected officers or self-appointed committees which may be a necessity of patriotism in war, would be an unmitigated menace in peace times.

The immigrant who comes to this country with yearning and confidence seldom equalled in those whose love of America is not born of struggle, obstacle and suffering — the illiterate who passionately yearns for freedom's liberty for herself and her children — often has more patriotism than the highly literate American born when sated with opportunities. What we have done to our immigrants from southern Europe

who stopped in our cities is a greater menace to our institutions than anything they have yet done to us. For want of timely training we too often convert the potential patriotism of immigrants into actual license that menaces the land which these new neighbours came to worship.

Patriotism is altogether too big and too beautiful a thing to be experienced, used and directed in a blundering, hit or miss, catch as catch can, as you like it, untrained fashion.

No free people can tolerate in times of peace the social and political restrictions upon free speech that have characterized our war-bred treatment of numerous sincere minorities, such as for example, the group who in 1917 insist that America should not wage war another day without frankly stating its own peace terms.

Patriotism must not stop with willingness to fight other nations or with enthusiasm for great celebrations. The patriotism of peace is nobler than the patriotism of war. The patriotism which serves and builds is greater than the patriotism which hurts and destroys. If war patriotism must be trained, how much greater is the need for training peace patriotism!

Today's warfare enthusiasın will wane.

Within two years after the war of 1917 closes, the very men and interests which are now clamouring most loudly for universal military service will be organizing nationwide crusades against both universal military service and military training in schools. Business will resent the double tax of furnishing funds and loaning employés. Young men will resent the decrease in earning power and lost vacations. Women will abhor the very idea of preparedness for war. Statesmen will achieve universal disarmament. Like the much evaded universal jury service and the almost obsolete universal poll tax, the temporarily popular universal military training and service will become museum pieces, mere memories and nightmares.

Preparing patriotism for the opportunities and duties that crowd behind the war clouds, calls for a program of means and ways of universal training for citizenship and service.

#### CHAPTER III

#### THE COST OF UNPREPAREDNESS

Unpreparedness might conceivably be a menace without actually incurring cost. In real life, however, unpreparedness almost always does incur cost. Unfortunately it is one of the most common and most expensive possessions man can have. "When it rains it's too wet to mend and when it's dry the roof don't leak," is a working principle that is not monopolized by Arkansas farmers.

Unpreparedness for war has cost European nations millions of lives and billions of dollars and incalculable sorrow. Unpreparedness for the duties of peace is no less costly, but its costs are not so graphically concentrated in time and place.

Because a world of nations are at war we can temporarily see what unpreparedness for war costs. What unpreparedness for citizenship costs we can also see clearly if we will study the army of citizens who are always at work for one another's good or ill.

Against the extravagance of unpreparedness for everyday duties great teachers have waged war from Æsop and Mother Goose to Benjamin Franklin and

Charles W. Eliot. Old Mother Hubbard's dog went hungry, Fontaine's grasshopper sang and danced herself into starvation, Poor Richard found that a penny saved is a penny earned, ex-President Eliot shows that those of us are best prepared who are trained to enjoy and demand the "durable satisfactions of life."

Everyday penalties for unpreparedness are familiar to us.

How often is a whole life changed because the pupil is not prepared for examination!

Many cities will not outgrow in a decade evil reputations earned by trying to entertain conventions too big for their hotel accommodations.

Few housewives are equal to company without notice, least of all on wash days.

Appearing at work unshaven has cost many an able man promotion.

Family and business tragedies result from unpreparedness to pay mortgages when due.

The difference between notice and no notice of an after dinner speech is often the difference between humiliation and triumph.

Millions of children are handicapped through life because their teachers are not prepared to teach.

Get-rich-quick schemes and get-well-quick remedies and get-reform-quick promises are constantly swindling men and women who are not prepared to read the story which experience is trying to tell them. All the arguments for individual thrift that are now being persuasively mobilized need to be applied to the nation's, use of its citizens' powers. Every argument against personal thriftlessness applies more forcibly to a nation's failure to stop the leaks and thefts and holocausts and floods due to unpreparedness for citizenship.

Five thousand dollars offered for a pair of wild pigeons and not a pair to be found in a country where men still young counted wild pigeons by millions!

Buffalo rare even in zoological gardens and menageries where but yesterday they roamed the plains by millions!

Seal skins a luxury almost out of reach of millionaires; building woods more expensive than stone or brick; print paper so limited that newspapers must raise their prices and curtail their news; two hundred and fifty million dollars needlessly lost each year from easily preventable fires; over a billion dollars lost each year for preventable sickness; tens of thousands of farms wasted away in their youth for want of intelligent use and provident restoration, and all for want of a horse shoe nail of preparedness.

Where mothers are not properly prepared to bear and care for babies, seven hundred or four hundred in one thousand babies die in infancy; where some mothers are trained and some are untrained perhaps two hundred in a thousand babies die; but where all mothers are trained not thirty in one thousand babies die.

French labourers died like flies in Panama and French capitalists jost hundreds of millions of dellars because unprepared — against what? Against easily starvable mosquitoes.

Unpreparedness to live without wasting and without unnecessary consumption almost brought Europe's war to an end before the working and fighting powers of combatants were decided, just as later our own unpreparedness to control the distribution of food sent food prices skyward and inflicted great suffering that only national interference finally checked.

Niagara was just as patriotic when her waters roared impotently as she is today when harnessed for lighting cities and running factories.

For want of preparedness clubs of women, business men and educators let vast forces go over the dam unstored and undirected without furnishing motive power or illumination.

When unprepared to bargain collectively the wageearner is at the mercy of accident and the ruthless law of competition and knows no other way to express his protest except by shifting from job to job, by railing at "the classes," by destroying or injuring his employer's property, or by giving sullen service. By preparedness through organization, the labourer, as the eighteen per cent. now organized are showing, can meet his employer face to face, feeling every inch an equal, and by collective bargaining lift his wage rate and himself.

Industry is beginning to see that it is quite as important to prepare its workers as it is to prepare its buildings and machinery. By preparing itself to understand employés, one manufacturing concern reduced its "annual labour turnover," that is the number of hirings, from over 55,000 for 14,000 positions to only 5000 a year. That means that instead of changing employés in certain positions so many times a year that the average number in each position was almost four, this concern found how to keep its employés so that they stayed an average of nearly three years each.

Another concern reduced the turnover in its clerical division alone from over 600 to 75. Think what such preparedness means to business, when each time an employé is changed it costs the business from \$50 to \$1,000, according to the grade of work! Employers who are eagerly seeking ways to stop this unnecessary waste place the annual loss to American big business because of unnecessary changing of employés at the colossal total of "billions a year."

The costs and wastes of untrained helpers are familiar. The untrained stenographer wastes her own time and her employer's time, paper, money, opportunity. The untrained cook wrecks homes and digestions. The untrained engineer "blows-out" boilers. Yet

these familiar instances and effects of unpreparedness to do the work for which one is paid, are of trifling consequence compared with the cost of unpreparedness to do citizenship's public services.

Indifference is oftener a result than a cause of unpreparedness. Few people are indifferent to what they know well or do well. The fire commissioner who never tested the fire hose because he "was afraid it would break," was unprepared before he was indifferent. The detective who searched the lockers which were open and did not search the closed lockers was not trying to avoid evidence but had never been properly trained to search thoroughly. It was before, not after he knew his Psalms, that a certain educator distressed his mother by not doing well in the Sunday school competition for reciting the most verses of Psalms; after he was prepared he enjoyed reciting and reciting and reciting, until they learned that he knew "all the Psalms and half the Proverbs." and tendered him the prize for preparation if he would only stop reciting.

The penalties that a nation pays for ignorance and undeveloped sense of responsibility are infinitely greater than those it pays for corrupt politics or aggressive evil, because the former furnish the soil and the fertilizer upon which aggressive evil thrives.

The annual wastes of American government in nation, state, county, city and town, are greater than the

combined annual interest charges paid out by England and Germany for the great war at its height.

Franchises and lands worth more than old world principalities were given away by all the public to a few individuals, and after the value of these gifts became known too,— because citizens were not prepared to deal intelligently with the monopolistic and quasi-monopolistic privileges of furnishing all the public with water, light, heat, power and transportation.

Unpreparedness to see straight, think straight and build wisely with regard to roads for marketing farm produce, has cost untold millions yearly and has kept in isolation and uncontentment the agricultural classes upon whose prosperity and contentment the rest of us must largely depend.

Unpreparedness to spend public funds honestly and thriftily has led to subsidizing and fattening forces in politics and business which keep themselves prepared always to prey upon the unprepared public and to foster its unpreparedness.

Wherever citizenship is unprepared it is easily stampeded to hurt itself; to stand in its own light; to miseducate its children and take them out of school too early; to vote against improvement in health, police and fire protection; to pay for keeping the feeble minded at large instead of keeping them in institutions by themselves where they cannot contaminate and hold

back others; to shut its eyes to accidents which waste numberless millions.

When citizens are unprepared for citizenship their government is restricted and hampered or crippled in its power to act for citizens in preventing needless waste and in freeing their paths for the exercise of their capacities.

When unprepared men are put in public office they are not only unable to do their public work well but they perpetuate evils which reduce the earning and growing power of those out of office.

Preparedness for personal success that does not carry with it preparedness for citizenship and public service may result in net loss to society. The self centredness of the capable is quite as great a menace as the incompetence of the incapable. Therefore the need for universal training of citizenship conceptions and of the service capacities of every individual.

## CHAPTER IV

## UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP IS POSSIBLE

Within two short years universal military training has come to seem an entirely possible thing in our country where formerly it was considered not only obsolete, but anti-American. Many still disapprove it, but no one denies its entire feasibility. The only questions are: Shall it be done? How shall it be done? Who shall pay its price and obtain its benefits?

If universal training for war is possible, universal training for service is possible. For over a century universal training for citizenship has been the basic American reason for maintaining free public schools. In theory we have also been training ourselves for peace so far as we have gone to kindergarten, playgrounds, extension lecture or college, and wherever we have prevented transmissible diseases, compelled cleanliness, provided recreation, lighted streets, taught safety first, and celebrated our holidays.

It is the detail, not the idea of universal training that is now changing. Universal service is an old system, not a new proposal. Universal service in time of community need is already provided by law and existed as a practice long before laws were written. To this day every frontiersman is a nurse, a carpenter, a judge, a reaper, a road maker, a defender, a fireman,—according to the needs and interests of his neighbourhood. All men are now expected to render jury service, except two or three groups like physicians and lawyers and ministers who are considered as already and always in the public's service. Constables and sheriffs may ask any citizen within reach of their voice to help make an arrest or detain a prisoner: for a bystander to refuse this call is an offence against society punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

Specialized training has been found possible for engineers, nurses, dentists, lawyers, school teachers, physicians and scores of other professions, including specialties within professions.

Business finds that training is needed as to purpose, plan and purse. Colleges are springing up and special endowments are being given for courses in business. For example, headlines announce, "\$600,000 for a business course at Columbia University," and "\$50,000 for a public affairs course at New York University."

Similarly with respect to citizenship, there is need for well planned training with respect to the purpose, the plan and the purse of efficient citizenship. We have purse training for citizenship in abundance already. It is training as to purpose and plan that we especially need now.

Whatever can be done at all can be done better by training. Whatever and whoever can do anything at all will do it better after appropriate training. Witness the trained fleas and human contortionists of vaudeville, Mark Twain's jumping frog, and Luther Burbank's plants and fruits. Think of what Europe is accomplishing by training its maimed and halt to do with artificial hands and arms more and better work in carpentering and in other mechanical occupations than they were able to do before with whole arms!

Whatever can be done for ten insects or animals or men can, as big business has proved, be done for ten million, if only machinery for duplication is provided. When we do a thing by wholesale, we learn to do it cheaper and better than when we do that same thing by individuals or in small lots. It is duplicating parts, doing the same thing over and over again in the same way, which makes possible dollar watches and automobiles for \$365.

To train thinking men and women, whole nations at a time, has proved surprisingly easy. Thanks to newspapers and magazines which go regularly every day or every week or every month to all but a negligible portion of our nation; thanks to the advertisers of marketable goods and to publicly paid teachers who talk to group after group both by mail and by word of mouth,

few Americans are out of reach of training. Telegram and telephone are quicker than chain lightning for long distance illumination because they can be controlled, relayed, and sent directly thousands of miles faster than the ears can sense.

Think how short a time was required to secure nationwide interest and action with respect to indecent advertising, to patent medicines and foods which fail to disclose their contents, to prohibition of the liquor traffic, to woman suffrage, to the need for high schools as part of the minimum equipment of every community's public school system including rural districts.

Hardly had we understood the meaning of such terms as commission government and city manager before we woke up and found several hundred commission government cities, nearly one hundred city manager cities, and great metropolises like New York and Chicago seriously debating the introduction of the single manager form of government. Almost as fast as a flash of light the program for universal instruction in canning fruits and vegetables swept from south to north, from coast to coast, from farm to Avenue mansion and side street tenement.

In 1917 centralization of power in the national government and in one or a handful of its officers, seems to be a natural, efficient American procedure, in view of the work which 1917 has to do. How quickly our general public has been educated by events may be

judged from the statement of James Bryce in 1900 in the third edition of the American Commonwealth: "No nation is more averse to the military spirit, no political system would offer a greater resistance to an attempt to create a standing army or to centralize the administration."

Before universal co-operation difficulties rapidly disappear. Big business has come with the telephone and telegraph; time and distance have been annihilated. San Francisco is but a second away from Atlantic City and it is now nothing unusual for gay companies to sit at the two oceans and exchange greetings, compliment, song and applause. It will be easier to train all of us than to train one in ten of us, for only by aiming at all of us can we see the big things and feel the spirit that are the essence of training for the kind of citizenship we are determined to have.

The appeal for universal training for citizenship and service must be dramatic in its promise to individual participants of health, service and enjoyment in the doing. In spirit it must show vision, aspiration and humanity. In organization and method it must show efficiency. It is promise of these elements which has made recent appeal for wholesale universal training acceptable and infectious.

Just as no class is incapable of training for citizenship, so no class may safely be exempted from such training. As events in the old world are showing. every class in the community is needed for the highest success of any single class, even the army and navy. Women are needed not only in the home, but in practically every walk in life. Old men are needed for counsel and actual service. Children must be trained prior to leaving school in ways that will reduce the necessity for training after they leave school. Going still farther back, infants in arms must have special training when in arms if they are to be ready physically and socially for the training in and after school. Even the sick are needed in this universal program because they help us train physicians and nurses and find universal preventives.

The new training for citizenship must not be allowed to take several of the by-paths which universal education takes when above grammar grades it is free only at a price which is or seems still prohibitive for the majority. If rich and poor are to be under the same compulsion, they must enjoy the same opportunities for training. Already proposals are made which would hold universal military training for those who can afford it. Interest in training which a Democracy requires must be made universal, whether the individual can personally afford it or not. The nation as such cannot afford to train a few of us but can afford to train all of us. Recently a university president reminded the taxpayers of his state that they are spending less on higher education than on the upkeep of

automobiles. The only universal training for citizenship which is practical will cost vastly less than the nation's guin bill and much less per year than we have been spending every month on alcoholic drinks and tobacco. In fact its cost will not be separable from the cost of existing schemes of education and propaganda with which it should be incorporated as a minimum essential.

To make sure that the possible is also practical we must fit our universal training to present day and future facts, needs, and agencies, and abandon our too limited traditional ideas of minimum essentials for citizenship.

## CHAPTER V

## TRAINING PRIVATES FOR MINIMUM ESSENTIALS

Privates are indispensable. Moreover, every private is a potential leader. If the flagbearer falls some one else must take his place. Today's private becomes tomorrow's leader. Captains of industry who seem to be carrying the burden of business affecting whole continents die or retire without a ripple of apparent inconvenience. Mr. Rockefeller gave up active business but the Standard Oil Company went on. Mr. Carnegie gave up active business but the manufacturing of steel went on. Great railroad promoters like James J. Hill and E. H. Harriman died — for one hour on the day of their funerals every engine stopped in memory of the master builder — then the engines started to do more and better business under new leaders.

The law of progress is such that successors almost always improve upon the work of predecessors. With few exceptions the understudy finally surpasses his preceptor. The traditional way of expressing this is: The king is dead, long live the king.

The basic training for privates is the same as that

for corporals, sergeants, lieutenants, captains and generals. Seldom does one rise to higher ranks in military or business fields without having excelled in those services which constitute the minimum essentials of the private. Seldom have armies or businesses succeeded where privates did not excel. It ought to be made impossible in education for persons to fill generalships until they have excelled as privates in the minimum essentials for their rank.

No nation and no business will ever want for leaders and guides whose privates are well trained in the minimum essentials of their service. If overnight we were to forget how to train anybody but privates and should remember how to train privates thoroughly in the minimum essentials of their duties, there would forthwith spring from the ranks of privates plenty of men to manage and direct and teach.

The minimum essentials for privates fall into seven groups: 1, A public service motive; 2, ability to read and write; 3, desire and effort to think straight; 4, preparation for one's own task; 5, a chance in every job to show ability for higher work; 6, knowledge of health laws; 7, knowledge of the elements of government.

The first minimum essential for privates is a public service motive. This we cannot get by talk alone, or by reading. No one can keep the public service motive who is not trying to render public service. No

one can know the public service metice who has not actually served. Some way must be found of having every private do work which affects the public so that he will be trained in thinking about the effect upon the general public of what he does.

People love by loving; people learn best to draw by drawing; people learn best to sing by singing; so people acquire a public service motive by rendering public service.

Lip service or arm service from any other motive than a desire to serve the public may do more harm than good. Wherever the spirit of leader or follower is not love of service, compulsory military service may actually unprepare a nation to use its military forces

To universalize the public service motive requires four conditions not yet widely enough sought: public service must be in the air; community chores must be found and assigned for children; every person must be working at something; and every person at work, however humble, must be interested in the effect of his own work upon society.

Can public service be made a part of the air we breathe? It can. In many schools it is accomplished through songs, dramatics, flag drills, textbooks, discussions, teachers' illustrations, courses in ethics or manners, and pupil self-government. Children who help repair school buildings, keep school grounds

clean, serve school lunches, make school furniture, decorate school walls and organize community entertainments are making public service a part of the air they and the rest of us breathe.

It is one of the anomalies of our present patriotism that our newest immigrants know more of our history, more of our patriotic songs, more of our national ideals than do children who can count two or six generations of American ancestry. Teachers conscious of the obligation to keep patriotism and public service in the air are notably successful when dealing with immigrants. Would they not be equally successful when dealing with the nativeborn of native parents if they took equal pains?

Because the patriotic songs and the patriotic saluting of the flag in public assemblies often seem to creak with perfunctory habit devoid of spirit, is no reason for not making sure of the spirit as well as the habit

"Would you shun the fire as harmful In that once it burned a church?"

Those responsible for public schools must require more patriotism and more facts about privileges and duties of citizenship in textbooks. Too often material that shows citizenship relations is notably lacking in the primary grades when children are most impressionable and when they are already capable of patriotic expression. New modern readers that excel in method are conspicuously lacking in patriotic motive. For example, in one such series where reading is taught by the aid of rhythen it would have been easy to supplement stories of the mocu and of boats with a picture of the American flag and a poem like this:

> "I love the name of Washington, I love my country too. ! love our flag. Our dear old flag of red, white and blue."

In the interest of better citizenship private schools will soon be prohibited except those which are under state supervision and can prove that they are living up to and insisting upon the state's minimum of purpose, method and requirement. Any society that has reached the point where it will require compulsory military training is ready for compulsory minimum standards in its education wherever given. Distinctions of spending power have no place in universal training. If parents wish to keep their children at home they must give evidence that these children are benefiting, not losing, by being kept at home. Similarly religious and other private schools must be required to give evidence that they equal or surpass the minimum standards for public schools - after these minimum standards have required attention to public service

Ways of keeping public service in the air for adults out of school will be discussed later. Two general suggestions are made as to loafers and holidays. That drones shall not be tolerated in peace time is just as elemental a proposition as that slackers shall not be tolerated in war time. What laws can never do an atmosphere charged with the spirit of public service can do: namely, make it socially uncomfortable for the work slacker to hold up his head in a world of workers.

Any nation that has so far abandoned its century-old beliefs as to seriously consider universal military training has reached the point where it cannot safely compel business and schools to observe legal holidays without seeing that the national purpose of those holidays is in some other way accomplished than by spending money on entertainment.

Independence Day, Decoration Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, think how we have been using them! And think how we might use them! How few of us will go to hear the Declaration of Independence read on the Fourth of July! Fewer still will watch the Decoration Day parade. It may become part of our program for universal training to require that every adult and child go to school on our four patriotic holidays. A moment's thought will show that it is more important that the immigrant actually read the Declaration of Independence five

years after he is admitted to citizenship than that he be able to read one sentence before admitted to citizenship.

A second minimum essential for privates is that every person not subnormal in mentality shall be able to read and write whether eight years old or eighty. Few people who cannot read and write can ever fully understand the opportunities and duties of an American citizen. No one can know enough about his heritage as a citizen or about his present day duties whose sources of information are limited to what the rest of the world will take time to tell him. Nor can any one in our day fully exercise his American rights who is unable to express himself to persons beyond the reach of his own voice. No foreign born person wishing to become a citizen or resident, who is mentally incapable or spiritually unwilling to learn to read and write, ought to be permitted to obtain citizenship papers or to remain in this country.

Straight thinking about American citizenship is incompatible with illiteracy. Fortunately, in teaching boys or girls or adults, native born or immigrant, to read and write, it is possible to use for this training the elements of citizenship and minimum essentials for public service with which their later reading and writing will largely be concerned.

Manufacturing plants have learned how to take a man who is unable to speak a word of English and in

six weeks, two hours a day, give him seventy-two lessons which will prepare him to read and write, speak and understand the English of factory instruction, factory conversation and newspaper comment. What is equally important, these business men educators have worked out methods of teaching which leave the newly taught adult with a desire to read. What business men can do in six weeks public schools can do in six years for every normal person entering them.

As Lyman Abbott recently wrote, society must be saved in every generation because "it is impossible to capitalize a nation's safety so strongly that it can rest on its accumulated moral strength." Saving society in every generation is possible only by harnessing to this task our public school systems and by giving them big enough programs, sufficient taxes and the helpful supervision which will guarantee that their work is thoroughly done.

A third minimum essential for privates is desire and effort to think straight. Would you omit this on the ground that ability to think straight is a gift or that the habit of thinking straight is a moral habit not capable of universal training? Please do not forget that thinking is intellectual before it is moral, and physical before it is mental. The steps involved in thinking straight are as easy to learn as are any other steps, and the habit of desiring to take and of actually

taking these steps is as easy to acquire as is any other

Of the three elements of straight thinking — desire, knowing how and habit — the hardest to acquire and to retain is the desire. For example, parents find it physically hard to think straight about their children's need for punishment, self-denial and hard work. It positively and physically hurts the rich mother of a pampered son to reduce the lavish income which she knows will buy temptation and wretchedness rather than happiness. It hurts terribly to send an unmannerly child away from the table when guests are there, although such discipline might prove agreeable to guests and beneficial to the child.

News items like the two following are daily taxing our ability to think straight: "Those who bought tickets at \$2.50 each also received one drawing share in an automobile"; "Policeman's bullet kills innocent boy—victim returning from church, stops to watch dice game and runs at threat of arrest." Our minds tell us that gambling in private parlours for the aid of infantile paralysis victims or war victims is intrinsically as immoral and anti-social as gambling on race tracks or in back rooms of saloons. Yet it is hard to think the same way about gambling opportunities offered by charitable and religious fêtes or war relief bazaars as we think about gambling oppor-

tunities offered by card sharps, bucket shops, or boys' dice games.

When we say that it takes courage for a public man to resist a million dollar bribe, we often only mean that it is hard to think straight when private and public interests clash. A great mayor once sent for an important member of his cabinet and said: "Commissioner, I'd like you to appoint as deputy the man whose name you will find in this envelope." It happened that this commissioner was charged by law with the duty of appointing a deputy who should be specially fitted for this post. In addition, both he and the mayor were pledged to omit politics and favour when selecting this deputy. Yet the mayor was the commissioner's personal friend. It was, after all, the mayor's responsibility. No one would ever know about the secret order. Why not play the game and acquiesce in his superior's request? It is hard work to think straight in such a crisis. The commissioner kept thinking of this problem while the mayor discussed several other matters of interest. When the conference was over and the commissioner had left the mayor found a pile of little pieces of paper which he identified as the envelope and slip which the commissioner had torn up without looking at the name within!

Take yourself at election time. Have you not found it hard — sometimes too hard — to think straight

about parties and candidates? Are you not conscious of hoping that no pleasant facts about the opposing party, and no unpleasant facts about your party, will come to your attention? Or if you are a woman in a state where women do not yet vote, do you instinctively try to explain away facts about woman suffrage where tried which if followed straight would lead to a different conclusion from the one you like best?

Few duties are harder for the citizen than to desire and to try to think straight about public affairs. Although loyalty to a leader is, as James Bryce said, "a poor substitute for loyalty to a faith," yet our elections are constantly misrepresenting the popular will because citizens mix up leadership and faith in their thinking.

For straight thinking there is nothing so helpful as unevadable facts. There is, after all, a limit to the contortions and somersaults which even prejudice is willing to make. In full daylight it is so hard to insist that it is night as to be impossible for most of us. That is why it pays during a political campaign to publish and republish impersonal, non-factional, non-partisan facts. Few dyed-in-the-wool partisans have the moral or physical courage even when they have the desire, to utter, as true, statements which they know a considerable number of their readers or auditors know are untrue.

An important truth during pre-election discussions not only helps the few who take it up and store it away in their memories and as part of their thinking when it is first published, but that truth goes on working. The side which can take advantage of it tells it over and over again. The side whose case is weakened by it may seemingly ignore it but nevertheless alters its statements so that it does not convict itself of attempt to misrepresent. Thus non-partisan information is used for partisan purposes, but in the public interest.

Whether or not an individual thinks straight at election time is relatively easy for the individual to settle for himself. Will the reader please test himself by asking whether he would think straight under circumstances like these: On Wednesday morning, July 18, 1917, your family newspaper stated in several news and editorial columns, that your reform party had renominated your reform mayor on his record of unparalleled efficiency. The same paper made several other announcements: a silk dealer who had notified the police department of a threatened burglary and had been assured of police attention, was surprised to find that the burglary had taken place according to schedule and had cost him \$5,000; a coloured elevator boy who had for months been successfully moving from one apartment house to another, staying a day and then

running away with jewels and money, had been caught after his stealings totalled \$25,000; an investigator for the mayor announced that the police department's method of supervising detectives and patrolmen actually invited incompetence, neglect and graft.

What are you personally going to do with these supplementary facts when you do your own thinking about the efficiency of the police department which news item and editorial have extolled? Are you going to forget about the marauding elevator boy, about the investigator's indictment, and about the police department's broken engagement with the burglar, or are you going to keep those facts fixed in your mind when thinking about the needs of that police department?

One plan for encouraging straight thinking by voters and taxpayers is being tried out in several American cities by civic bodies which want what we call good government even if their own personal preferences are not elected as managers. A typical slogan of this educational work which aims to state facts in a non-partisan, non-factional, impersonal way, is No Matter Who's Elected. This slogan has been used in several cities. The Institute for Public Service is this very summer issuing such a series. Six titles are repeated here to help fix the idea in the reader's mind as a minimum essential in straight thinking not only at election time but between elections:

Nor is it only adults who can easily be trained to think straight. In Brooklyn is a public school with about three thousand pupils, whose motto is *Think Straight*. In classrooms, in the halls and in the assembly one finds *Think Straight* on banners and cards. By masterful use of this motto the principal is training children, 800 at a time, to have the desire to think straight, and to practice singly and en masse the steps necessary to straight thinking.

The last time I attended assembly the principal asked the children what subject of conversation was the most popular on that day. They agreed that it was the new double session or Gary system which was then but two days old in their school. He then asked how they liked it, why they liked it, how many liked it, how

many disliked it, why they disliked it. After scores of children had risen and given their personal views and after votes had been taken on these expressions of opinion, the principal said, "Now, what is our motto?" Eight hundred children answered, Think straight. "Well, then, if we are to think straight about this experiment what are some of the steps we must take?" Hands flew into the air and children made one suggestion after another which led to the conclusion by eight hundred of them that they had not yet information enough to think straight to a conclusion about this new system, but that on the contrary if they ever hoped to think straight they must wait until the experiment had a chance and until they were sure they had seen all sides of it. Have you any doubt that these children when they go to vote will have the habit of analysing and of straight thinking which will prevent them from showing the loyalty to a leader that is disloyalty to a faith?

Wrong conclusions and crooked thinking or right conclusions and straight thinking, are by no means inseparable. Wrong conclusions can be drawn from straight thinking. The road to evil may be just as straight as the road to good. People who are misinformed may with an excellent logic reach an unsound and vicious conclusion. The story of the emanicipation of the individual soul and of nations' souls is the story of substituting a safe starting place for an un-

safe starting place for straight thinking. The only safe starting place is correct and adequate information.

Since no individual can be sure that he has all the information, since many of us must at all times do our thinking in full consciousness that further study would be helpful, the best we can do is (1) to make reasonable efforts to secure the facts, (2) to think straight with those facts, and (3) to have the courage of a conviction that is based upon our own information and reasoning.

Even when so conscious of our own limitations that we prefer to follow rather than to stand alone or lead, we can at least choose our leader because we have first accepted his information; and we can refuse to follow a leader whose information we either do not know or do not accept.

Habitual straight thinking requires that the mind shall either painstakingly or with electric quickness, take seven distinct steps for us: 1, we must desire to know; 2, we must find the right unit of inquiry; 3, we must count the units, perhaps by weighing or measuring; 4, we must compare; 5, we must make the subtractions necessary to show the result of comparing; 6, we must summarize; 7, we must classify.

As stated above, the hardest of all of these to acquire is the habit of desiring to know the truth even if it contains disappointment for us. No one can possibly think straight who desires to conform or to believe or to endorse rather than to know.

Finding the right unit of inquiry is not easy without much practice. For example, the women who desire to know how woman suffrage actually works in Colorado must not take as their unit of inquiry woman's theoretical right to vote, woman's duty to the home, or what partisan advocates or opponents say about Colorado results. The only unit of inquiry that permits straight thinking is the thing that happens, the provable result. Again, when the voor desires to know whether he should vote for or against a particular candidate for mayor, the right unit of inquiry is not the looks or the eroquence or the wealth or social standing of respective candidates. Instead, it is things already done by these candidates or their colleagues for or against public welfare, and things so specifically pledged for the future that it will be reasonably easy to secure fulfilment of the pledges.

The other five elements of straight thinking are more or less mechanical and can easily be acquired by any one who sincerely wants the truth rather than agreeable portions of it. Counting we all learn to do in making change, buying clothes, discussing every day affairs. Comparing we are doing all the time when we match colours, adjust furniture to rooms, apportion ingredients in our cooking, read the stock ticker, and choose our places of residence or business. Using

subtraction to gain the result of our comparison is a little less frequent. Even our most efficient business houses are still reporting to their stockholders with comparative columns that tell the stockholder practically nothing unless he stops to subtract this year's repair bill, \$1,715,403.07 from last year's repair bill of \$1,800,907.44. Many of us as individuals are daily making comparisons without subtracting for ourselves to see how much greater or better or bluer or prettier the second thing is than the first. It is not hard to train oneself to ask how many parts in a hundred larger one thing is than another, whether three per cent. or thirty per cent.; if the difference is three per cent. we naturally do not take it so seriously as if it is thirty per cent. or ninety per cent. Any mind that has desired to know, has found the right unit of inquiry, has counted, compared and subtracted, wants to see the result of these operations in a short, definite, meaningful summary. Finally, the habit of classifying one's information and one's conclusion is also easy to acquire.

All around us the world is trying to discipline us in the habit of classification, at every point except in our thinking about public affairs. We are told to turn to the right until we do it habitually and automatically. We go in one end of the car and out the other to save confusion. We run the express trains on the left hand side and the local trains on the right

hand side. We serve our desserts separately and, if we can afford it, in a different kind of dish with different kind of forks and spoons. As soon as the baby can walk, in fact long before he can walk, we

Attitude Toward School Work	ı Step	2 Step	3 Step	4 Step	5 Step	6 Step
Wastes time Work is carelessly done Gets too much he'p Shows improvement Very commendable						
Recitations						
Comes poorly prepared Seldom does well Inattentive	Classification of indexes to pupil progress, by Supt. J. W. Rutherford, Clarion, Pa.					
Promotion in danger Capable or doing such better Work shows a falling off Showing improvement Very satisfactory						
Conduct						
Restless Inclined to mischief Annoys others Shows improvement Very good						
Attendance						
Number days absent Number times tardy						

begin training him to look for the same thing in the same place on successive days, to go to the same place for the same pleasures on successive days, put things in the same places — a place for everything each in its

own place, not a place for everything and everything in that one place.

It is just as easy to classify the steps and results in our thinking with respect to our personal, business and public relations, and it is essential if we are to think straight.

A fourth minimum essential for privates is that every person shall be well trained for his own job. This does not mean that no one should ever take a post for which he has not previously made special preparation. It does mean that no one should stay on a post where he cannot do its work well after his previous training has been supplemented by sincere effort to secure training from his new position.

Dis-esteem for one's own workmanship is a poor basis for citizenship and patriotism. On the other hand every person who is doing his own work well enough for the work and as well as he can do it, is an important factor in his country's preparedness for meeting any emergency.

Yielding to the requirements of war former lines of importance between different kinds of work have been disappearing. We are beginning to see how essential each part is to the whole.

Heads of families, effervescing with patriotism and wanting to enlist as officers or privates, have been frankly told by our government that caring for their own families is just as patriotic and just as essential as displaying bravery and patriotism in army and navy.

Humble services have gained repute in the eyes of workers because they have gained repute in the eyes of the world. A college professor is glad to take his turn in the munitions factory because public esteem for that work has changed. Women of fashion are glad to do clerical work and house to house visiting because public esteem for such work has changed. Professional men and ambitious young women have been glad to drive cabs or take fares on busses or run elevators or even sweep the streets because each of these tasks has come to be regarded as a high form of patriotic service.

Whoever does well the thing he does must be shown respect for what he does and particularly for what his work means to his country. Patriotism's tape line knows no measures but loyalty, willingness and efficiency.

"Say not 'small' event!
Why 'small'? Costs it more pain that this ye call
'A great event' should come to pass
Than that?"

Whether one is trained for his own work can never be told before his first field trial in it. Much of the world's best work is done by workers in fields that are new to them. Great teachers will tell you that never in a lifetime of teaching did they ever surpass the results of their first year. Abraham Lincoln proved to be admirably trained for the job of president of the United States during the Civil War, yet no part of his earlier training could fairly be called specialized training for this great work.

There is much merit in the feeling which Americans have always had until quite recently that, to quote Bryce, "any citizen is good enough for any political work," and that "it is a disparagement of one's own civic worth to deem one's neighbours, honest, hardworking, keen witted men, unfit for any places in the service of the republic." There was a great truth in that old prejudice which we cannot afford to sacrifice even for higher degrees of the mechanical efficiency and specialized fitness which we are seeking today through our civil service tests and scientific management.

No matter how great his responsibility or how high his salary, nor how extensive his previous conventional training, no worker is well trained for his own job who does not do it well when measured by its own possibilities.

To increase the quantity and quality of each worker's product, the apostles of scientific management insist that the worker must himself see that he will share in the benefits or profits from increased quantity and quality of service.

The fear that scientific management will get more from workers only to increase employers' profits without giving more back to employés, has led labour unions to protest against efforts to secure from each worker the best he can do in the position he now holds. One of the tasks confronting the country in its efforts to universalize the ideals and habits of citizenship and of service, is to change this attitude of organized labour, first by guaranteeing benefits to labour from increased individual efficiency; second by advertising the existence and attractions of those benefits; and thirdly by showing that among these benefits will be training to do one's best in one's job and to grow out of this job into a larger opportunity tomorrow.

Another task is to complete the revolution which is already so far under way in the attitude of employers. We must not be satisfied until every employer whether of one domestic servant or of fifty thousand factory labourers shall declare with Mr. Arthur Williams, who has done much to promote educational work by great corporations among their own employés, —"We can't afford to have dead workers or sick workers: we can't afford to have resentful, discontented, underpaid or unhappy workers after the war."

This need is recognized by business houses so extensively and in so many ways that several national magazines have gained enormous constituencies by giving concrete suggestions to business men about ways "of mining human nature." From one of these articles by Edward Mott Wooley in the Saturday Evening Post, a typical incident is quoted:

Take the case of Teddy A., who applied for a job at the age of twenty. On the application blank was the question: "What is your ambition in life?" And Teddy wrote: "Drive delivery wagon."

In a store without intensive management they might have taken the boy at his word, and perhaps he would have stayed out on the wagon all his life, an economic loss to the store and to the world, and a personal failure.

Instead, they put Teddy in the rugs, as a junior, at seven dollars a week; and then they began experimental drillings to find out what they could make of him. There is a system in this store requiring floor managers to make periodic reports on all employés, going into detail and answering many specific questions; and the first report on Teddy A. was a dreadful roast. For one thing, he had no sense of personal appearance. His clothes were soiled and ragged; his tie was hopeless; his shoes were unacquainted with the brush.

Here was a problem of some interest. Perhaps Teddy was a worthless claim; and if so, the sooner they found it out and abandoned him the better. But beneath those shabby clothes might lie a pay streak!

It is one of the fundamental theories of the development department that unless the faculty of observation can be cultivated it is practically impossible to develop a person. It is also a theory that in teaching observation the academic discussion should be secondary to actual

contact. So they gave Teddy half a day off and told him to spend it in the store, making notes about the six best-dressed men be encountered

Right here comes in another important factor in this method of mining human nature. Periodic absences from routine duty are compulsory, for definite purposes in which observation plays a large part. This idea is quite the reverse of the old-fashioned don't-miss-an-hour schemes of things. . . . You can set it down as an axiom that the average human nature will not mine itself.

Teddy A., however, responded satisfactorily to the test; for when he turned in his report next day he wore a new necktie and had polished his shoes. After that his progress in dress was rapid. It required only a lecture or two and a few more observation trips to turn him into a well-dressed young man.

Meantime they set out to develop his ambition. In one of the classrooms they had a big chart of the store organization, and all over it were red stickpins; and they made him understand that each one stood for a man. The ordinary chart is just a piece of the furnishing; but this one was a stage, with live men walking over it. They talked about men, and told him over and over that he could walk on that stage in almost any rôle he chose. It depended on himself. They told him the stories of some of the boys who had gone into stores just as he had done, and how they had gone up and up. To this boy, who had lived twenty years in an ant hill, it was a revelation — a sort of afflatus.

Then they gave him a lesson to do:

"Write some little stories about successful men. Dig them up out of biographies in the store library; out of the newspapers; from every day life about you."

There is nothing that grips a man so much as the stories of men who have done things; and they cultivated Teddy's observation of opportunity so that in a little time he laughed at his erstwhile ambition to be a delivery driver. They developed other qualities in him, too; and now he is assistant manager of a department.

A fifth minimum essential for privates is that every kind of work shall afford each individual engaged in it a chance to show ability to do something which will be harder for him to do. Society has a selfish motive for promoting individuals wherever possible. There should be in each job a chance to rise, but rising and being promoted should be rewards for growing, not merely for keeping office hours and obeying laws. Every vocation needs its "development department" and its "mining of human nature."

There cannot be continued growth by everybody unless there is the opportunity—and incentive—for continued study and effort by everybody. This need is just as urgent after the age of sixteen or seventeen as before, and in voluntary club work as well as in civil service and in business. Fortunately there is something about growing and becoming more efficient in any task that inevitably prepares a person for the next higher task.

To make every job a training ground for a better job requires continual study by those responsible for work, just as it means that every such job is in itself "continuation study," where each worker has his eye on the rung of the ladder just beyond his present position.

An imaginative use of vacancies is proving a great asset to both private and public business. When positions within an organization are filled by prepared men from below rather than by men from without, one vacancy often creates opportunities for five or fifty promotions, each vacancy being fuled by the best prepared man from below. When, instead of filling a woman's club presidency from persons with r. committee appointments or perhaps without any proved ability or interest in that club's work, a committee chairman is promoted, perhaps five chairmen and a new person too can be given new positions, all because one vacancy needs to be filled. Whereas, if an outsider is elected president no promotions are possible and the incentive to do excellent or unselfish work is chilled

It is not necessary to argue that such promotion, if made by merit, encourages both those who have been promoted and all others in an organization who see their successful fellows advance from their own rank. The fact that such promotion is possible makes work more attractive, secures recruits of higher order, and fosters loyalty. When, on the contrary, school commissioners for a central board are selected without even considering local school board members; when

a university presidency is filled without considering any member of the existing faculty; when a factory superintendent is picked without giving subordinates a hearing, disloyalty is fostered and ambition arrested.

A striking illustration of neglect to use present positions as training grounds was afforded by the National Education Association in 1917, when it named a committee to supervise the spending of its first large private gift. A fund of \$6,000 was given to this national body of educators for the use of its department of administration, which department was started in 1915 to enlist the interest of school board members. School trustees, the persons publicly accountable for the spending of our billion dollars annually for education, have for over sixty years been more neglected than was Cinderella. A wave of encouragement swept the country after it was announced that school trustees would henceforth play an important rôle in educational conferences. Yet within two short years that dream has so changed that this \$6,000 of foundation money is to be spent by a committee not one of whom is a school trustee. An opportunity to dignify and encourage service by strong men and women on school boards is thus lost

Where industry and business are so organized that they seek ability, train it and encourage it to study and grow by promoting it, a foundation is laid for the best possible training in citizenship. In preparation of pupils for efficiency on later jobs, it will be necessary for schools to find out about children what can never be found out except by watching them do things that need to be done. There are certain facts about personality, persistence, willingness and resourcefulness which are not discoverable until the pupil is tried as doer or builder. Doing and building test character and capacity much better when the person under test or at study is doing and building what is needed by himself or somebody else and will be used if satisfactory. No one can know for what kind of work he is best fitted and how much he cares about being efficient until after he has been given real work, not play work.

School, family and community chores must be discovered, assigned, required, and made educational for children in the early grades and for men through college. Even if this requirement of community chores should mean paying teachers to supervise work in addition to those now regularly employed, it would still be better than postponing the tests of character and ability that can be given only by work that needs to be done.

That the use of community chores for educational purposes is desirable it will be easy to show: that it is universally practical it is as yet harder to show. Instances of it on a larger scale can be cited as in reports to the Institute for Public Service from over fifteen

thousand schools with over two million pupils. Nowhere as yet, however, has a city adequately mobilized its community chores and its upper grade children to prove that services needing to be done can with reasonable ease be organized and progressively used for instructional purposes.

School repairs in many places are made by children, but because the school is not continuously in disrepair this need is not a continuous source of instruction. School buildings are erected by children, but there comes a time when the building is erected, in place and completed. In a few schools here and there, as in Connecticut industrial schools, pupils under supervision are allowed to take contracts for building private houses and shops. This, of course, greatly increases the quantity of teaching material through work that needs to be done. Labour unions must be taught to favour not oppose such training.

A novel estimate has been made by the United States bureau of education, that if school children were to use vacant lots for raising vegetables while busying themselves in studying agriculture and science, they could raise no less than \$750,000,000 worth of vegetables a year. Other work of enormous economic value can be encouraged in peace time by giving children school credit for homework and by insuring that educational use is made of such home work. As a by-product of no mean consequence many adults (in-

cluding the club woman who will welcome definite requests for help from the schools), will be taught also by any method that teaches children through work that needs to be done.

That civics can be taught through work to be done better than through laws and theories, is being shown by many schools. There is no better training for citizenship than training of pupils in self management of their own schools, in keeping school grounds clean, in beautifying walls and buildings, in preventing disorder, in conducting cafeterias at a profit, and in raising all the vegetables for school cafeterias.

Some way must be found to make it unnecessary for whole communities to go on forever waiting on school children through the primary grades, through high school and through college. Boys and girls and teachers must be taught how, as part of their training, pupils may help their schools and community. Service to the state will be required between elementary and high school, between high school and college, and between college and graduate work, not so much for the sake of the state as for the sake of finding out what use is being made of education; whether it is developing or spoiling personality; whether it is fostering habits and characteristics that make for citizenship, or fostering other habits and characteristics that work against citizenship.

Finally, it is futile to talk of promotion from lower

grade of work to higher grade of work, or of encouraging each one of us to attain his full stature unless communities prepare themselves to deal with human resources through employment bureaus that will belong to the whole community and not to any private concerns, and that will not merely find some position for the unemployed but will find positions which they can best fill and will also find for the employer the best fitted worker.

This employment service must combine three functions,—discovery or diagnosis of strong, not yet strong, and weak points; continuation instruction while at work, and placement. The world is full of men and women doing their best to fill the positions they now fill, who are capable of doing more exacting service. They need help in finding themselves and their larger possibilities. Communities should use periods of training and of unemployment for such discovery and assistance.

The actual working of such a bureau would be like this: A woman wishing employment as a secretary need not go from place to place asking for a post and leaving without being told why she does not obtain it. Instead she might go to an employment-school which would try to find for her the very best position which she was able to fill and which would at the same time be best for her in the long run. This

means that the employment-school must learn about her and must do its best to understand her possibilities and her needs. If she is stoop-shouldered, pale, so timid that she cannot look you in the eye when speaking, or if she mumbles or is untastefully dressed, she will not be given a curt dismissal or an evasive promise to write her if she is wanted, but will be given just as frank and definite a report as the person is given who goes to a dentist for an examination.

If the reader will mark himself or herself on the accompanying personality camera on page 70, it will be easy to see the advantage of such a diagnostic centre. If the marking shows weaknesses that stand in the way of success, then it will be easy to see the importance of corrective exercises and instruction.

Obviously, it is impossible for the overwhelming majority of persons at work to stop their work, give up their salaries and study for the correction of deficiencies or for the development of aptitudes. Fortunately, however, more can be done by way of correction if instruction is given while one continues at work, than if one gives up work. We must therefore organize to give this progressive instruction to persons while they are at work, so that the instruction can be based upon qualities and needs exhibited at work. An approximation of this method has for four years been tried out by New York City's board of educa-

Teacher's Efficiency Record—Cumulative—Elmira, N. Y.

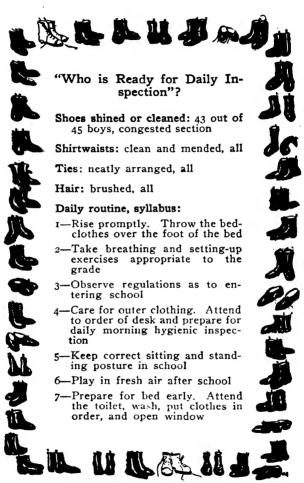
FIVE YEAR RECORD OF.

61		puno
YEAR	General Efficiency Attitude — Towards officials "fellow teachers "progressioneness Progressional study Subject matter Methods Sociability Refinement of speech and manuer Adaptability Loyalty Faithfulness Promptness	ng Indicates losing ground
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YEAR	Managing Efficiency Self-control Confidence Attitude towards pupils System Tact Sense of humor Care of material Influence on pupils	or + Indicates improving
61	<b>A</b>	P - Poor
YEAR	Moral Efficiency Character Disposition Influence Taching Efficiency Preparation Presentation Testing Application Questioning Attention Interest Skill Progress	F — Fair
61		poor
61		C — Good
YEAR	Physical Efficiency Health Energy and Endurance Habits— Body Dress Carriage Voice Room— Cleanliness Attractivencs: Mental Efficiency Scholarship— Academic Professional Language Habits	E - Excellent G

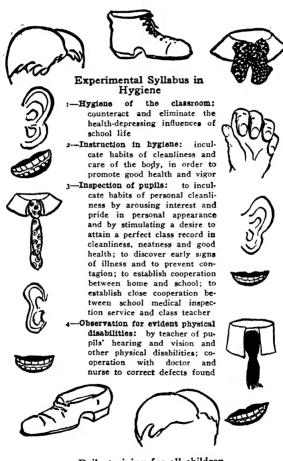
tion which urges stenographers out of employment to use their free time at the commercial extension rooms trying to increase their competence.

As has already been shown this continuation instruction is being extensively given by progressive manufacturing and business concerns. One interesting and novel device for improving English will appeal to business men who are now harassed by the difficulty of securing stenographers and secretaries who have the same kind of colour appreciation for words which so many of them display in their clothing. A stenographers club was organized to meet once a week for a social time, dancing and refreshment, plus and after an hour of instruction in English. This instruction did not take the form of lectures or textbook recitation, or even discussion of theories and rules. On the contrary every stenographer was both teacher and learner, for each one brought in concrete happenings from her week's work, such as changes in her dictation, errors in grammar, short cuts and niceties of expression, etc.

It is not enough to give such training through free bureaus because it is important that the thus-far-successful and the still-employed be helped as well as the out-of-employment and the thus-far-unsuccessful. Self supporting and successful workers will not go to a free bureau or free clinic. If society in its own interest wishes to help them secure growth, it must permit them to pay for service obtained. What priv-



Daily practice by all children



Daily training for all children

ate enterprise has organized for money returns society can organize for citizenship returns. Certainly no community can afford to do less for recidivist selfsupporting workers than it does for recidivist criminal offenders,— remove the cause of the repeating.

A sixth minimum essential for privates is knowledge of health facts and health laws. These elements are being quite generally taught to school children by way of both precept and practice. Laws are making such instruction compulsory. If all of our schools knew and did what some of our schools already know and do, we need feel little concern for the future of the country's health habits.

In many cities children from the poorest homes are being given skilled attention as to posture, mouth cleanliness, voice, neatness of person and manners not surpassed in the most exclusive schools or the wealthiest homes. Our next problem is to make sure that all schools and all employers do what our best schools and most progressive employers are now doing. No physical training which armies will ever give will equal the training for citizenship which proper school hygiene is giving. For finding out what they do and what they are failing to do, and for proving to them the great advantage of doing what we know is universally needed, the public machinery already exists.

Privates must learn to welcome the use of that machinery. Just as no private is fitted for war who does not know that among the minimum essentials of his rights is the right to sanitary camps, so no soldier in America's army of citizens and workers should fail to be taught that no right of citizenship is more important than his right to sanitary conditions for work, play and home.

Take for example the morning inspection of a village school: The teacher turns over the class to its elected chairman, who today is a little girl twelve years old. Madam chairman raps for order and with a tone and look which inspires confidence, admiration and obedience, announces: "Make ready for morning inspection." Monitors, again democratically chosen, move to the front of the class, and as the chairman gives orders, with military precision they pass down the aisles and back, noting elements of preparedness among forty children: a — hands, including finger nails, b — arms to the elbows, c — ears and neck right side, d — ears and neck left side, e — hair, f waists and neckties, g — posture. This is done with a dispatch which would do credit to Plattsburg, and with an exacting impartiality that inspires impersonal straight thinking and a desire not to be found unprepared.

As Dr. S. S. Goldwater urged when he was commissioner of health for New York City, eventually we shall require proof each year or once in three years that each adult has had a complete physical examination, knows where if at all he is below par, and is taking steps to protect the public's interest in him. We shall go farther and step in to insure education of employés and employers whose business closely affects the public. No one may now be employed in bakeries and restaurants in certain cities without a license from the health department saying that he is free from tuberculosis or other transmissible disease.

From protecting the public by such instruction, it is a short step to such action by the public in the interest of the employé,— therefore, the industrial hygiene work of city and state departments which say that workers must not only be protected by law and not only protected by the application of law to working conditions, but must themselves know the elements of "safety first," every man for his own occupation.

A seventh minimum essential for privates is a knowledge of the elements of government. It is not enough that we should know what our country stands for. We must know how our country goes about doing the things for which it stands. We must know how to test government service so that when voting or otherwise expressing pleasure or protest we shall not be misled by vague generalizations or stampeded by personal and party appeals. Privates in the ranks must come to see that government is a sequence of acts and not a mere sequence of men.

Every school in the country can and should be used

to teach the elements of citizenship at work. Beforegiving children certificates entitling them to leave school or exempting them from obligation to attend what we call continuation schools, i.e. schools in the time of their employers after the compulsory school age is passed, we can make sure that they know and can do prescribed minimum essentials. That this is feasible and not chimerical is being proved by many teachers: our only problem now is how to show the teachers who are not doing this how other teachers who are doing it go about it.

After a generation of attempts to teach civics by requiring children to memorize facts, it seems clear that schools will be effective in teaching the elements of citizenship just in proportion as they require the practice of those elements within the school and within the community. Pupils should learn about food inspection by inspecting foods; about tenement house inspection by reporting violations in tenement houses; about street cleaning by helping to keep schools and streets clean and reporting cases if need be to the attention of paid street cleaners; about straight thinking by reading newspapers or magazines and discussing important current events in democratically organized classes under the guidance of a teacher; about education of the public in the results and methods of government by making exhibits for the public to see.

Any parent, public officer, teacher or factory man-

ager interested in this pay-as-you-go, learning-by-earning method of teaching the essentials of citizenship can materially help his own state by asking the state department of public instruction to circulate information about this method.

It is not easy to list ways of requiring citizens to keep up to date in facts about government. Theoretically it would be desirable to require every adult to give an annual accounting of his service and study as a citizen,— to give proof at least once a year that he is watching what his government does and that he is not misreading what it does. Practically it is not yet reasonable to suggest such annual accounting or even a re-examination every five years. Practically, however, we are ready to set up minimum essentials for admission to citizenship and for registration for voting.

Why should we admit a foreigner to citizenship, or a new voter to registration and to voting without finding out whether he possesses the minimum essentials? Once having admitted him to citizenship we cannot at present give him any further test. We have great leverage just before admitting him because we have a gift of untold value to dispense. Before giving it away we are entitled to make terms which will insure appreciation rather than contempt for the gift. How can persons admitted to citizenship fail to have contempt for its responsibilities if we require no other

evidence of preparedness beyond ability to read a sentence from the constitution plus a residence of a certain number of years?

If we ever come to the point, as we surely should, where it seems feasible to test the adult citizen's knowledge of his current obligations, registration times will make it easy. When you stop to think of it, is it not careless to say the least for a public to let and almost compel individuals to vote upon the destinies of a town, a state or a nation without taking a single step to ascertain whether those individuals have a ghost of an idea of what they are voting about? No one can enter a lodge meeting, no matter how much money he has or how many times he has paid his dues, if he is without the password. No one can pass the picket on post no matter what his education, social position or military title, if he cannot give the pass word or countersign. Precautions which blind pigs or blind tigers or illicit gambling houses take to be sure that patrons rightfully "belong," should not be beneath the notice of a public which regards the right to vote as a sacred trust.

One next step which individuals can hasten and universalize is for our governments to employ the methods mentioned later for insuring continuous explanation of what they do and what their communities need plus continuous enforcement of law, so that citizens will be under continuous education from those

whom they place in office. What weekly health reports are doing in some cities, frequent reports of all public officers should do for all community governments

When we needed enlistments and Red Cross gifts for a world war we did not trust the individual to find out about these needs from libraries or from records at Washington and state capitals. Far from it. We bought billboard space and advertising space in newspapers and magazines. We chartered busses and sent out millions of appeals. The same principle of education must be adopted by representatives of the public in reporting what they are doing for or against the public interest. Let the reader not forget that any system of reporting what governments do which fails to tell government weaknesses, will also fail to tell where government is doing the most we expect of it and where it needs help.

A novel suggestion was recently made which would provide a new source of extension education for those who read newspapers and listen to campaign speeches, at the same time that it would doubtless greatly improve the character of education by existing agencies of publicity. This suggestion is that the minority parties of cities, states and nation be voted funds as part of regular annual budgets with which to study year in and year out, how and with what results taxes

are spent. Requests for funds would be analysed, qualifications of appointees would be published, majority misrepresentations would be uncovered. Of course the idea would be to try to show that the party in power had not done the right things, had left necessary things undone, or had done its work less competently and satisfactorily than occasion permitted and required.

Any majority party, under this continuous competition financed by the public, would, of course, desire to save itself and would try to make out a convincing case for being continued in power. Experience would soon show that the best possible insurance for the party in power against misrepresentation by the party out of power would be work so efficient and so continuously satisfactory that when described it would itself speak for the party in power. From a political point of view this would be a bit unfair to the minority party which now frequently profits by storing up the blunders of the ruling party and loosing them in antagonistic publicity during a political campaign. However, since the training for citizenship demands that we think of public interest rather than of party interest, we must ask party managers to find ways of promoting party while still helping the public. Educating the public between election times would certainly improve the character of government, because few men have the physical courage to go on doing what their constituents clearly see is against constituents' interest.

Does this seem to you a fantastic proposal? Would you be more sure that it was fantastic if told that a Tammany senator had proposed it? Would you be tempted to find it sound and scientific if told that the Tammany senator disavowed credit for the suggestion and recalled that he was indebted for it to a statement made by President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard before the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1915 when discussing European practice?

Utopia would include other minimum essentials for every private such as courage, independence, loyalty, honesty, love of mankind and optimism. Not as minimum essentials but as "consummations devoutly to be wished," must we regard these spiritual qualities, the beauty and value of which must be repeatedly and continuously shown to privates.

If the seven essentials for privates above listed as practical minimum essentials were universally possessed, no American citizen could fail to know the joys and rewards of purposeful, patriotic living even if a considerable number should continue to sin against the light by deluding themselves into disloyal action. Where public service and information about public action are in the air violations of law, selfishness, and sordid thinking become uncomfortable.

By consciously striving to achieve and develop the seven minimum essentials for privates, each of us will find himself subconsciously helping others and himself with this thought:

> "You'll see that, since our fate is ruled by chance, Each man, unknowing, great, Should frame life so that at some future hour Fact and his dreamings meet."

## CHAPTER VI

## TRAINING FOR VOLUNTEER CIVIC WORK

What is civic work? How does it differ from citizenship? Why does the person already trained for citizen duties need also to be trained for volunteer civic work?

In a sense all work that pays its own way is civic work

The man who does his duty between elections is engaged in civic work as well as in private work.

Obeying the law, throwing banana skins into waste receptacles instead of on the street, sweeping one's yard clean, taking care of one's baby, earning one's wages, being an agreeable fellow worker, is civic work just as truly as each is private work.

The mayor who enforces the law, the governor who tries to reduce waste, the patrolman who skilfully guides traffic and sympathetically answers questions, are all doing civic work.

But the term civic work has come to have a special meaning and refers to work done by groups of citizens or occasionally by inspired individuals who have extragovernmental relations; who are not paid or chosen by the public; who are not asked by the public to do things; but who as part of the community have volunteered for ends which they believe concern the whole community.

Typical of best known agencies engaged in tocal civic work are these:

Farmers' granges Men's civic clubs Prison reform Municipal art leagues Housing associations Bar associations Public education associations

Societies to reduce municipal waste

Bankers' associations Children's societies Women's civic clubs Consumers leagues Religious societies Medical societies Civic and commerce asso-

ciations

Bureaus of governmental research

For separate states, an occasional county and the national government there are corresponding agencies. In fact so contagious is successful civic work that vesterday's loca! agency becomes tomorrow's national federation.

Political parties are the best known and the most influential and the most effective for good or for ill of civic activities. Their only reason for existence is to secure the election and appointment of their membership to office, as the best means they know to bring about whatever changes in public service they think are needed. It is of the utmost importance that every citizen be trained for effective service in and study of political parties or groups.

Another type of activity regarding which the general public must be trained to hold proper ideals of civic accountability and efficiency, is the endowed foundation. While the term foundation legitimately includes our great private universities and many of our local private charities, we are rapidly limiting its special application to such civic agencies as the Carnegie Corporation, the Carnegie Institute at Washington, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Peace Foundation, the Rockefeller General Education Board, the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Institute for Governmental Research, the Russell Sage Foundation.

Many foundations started as local foundations soon find their opportunities and responsibilities widened so that they become national in influence if not in field of operations. For example, the Cleveland (Ohio) Foundation, the Community Trust and the Elizabeth McCormick Foundation (Chicago), the Wilder Charity (St. Paul) and the Dunwoody Institute (Minneapolis).

Not so much because of the money they spend as because of the money and influence they are asked to give, foundations, without making a move, cannot help exerting untold influence for good or for ill upon civic efforts and ideals whether the rest of us want to be influenced or not. Their influence is commensurate with the world's desire for their money rather than with the relatively small amounts they can give.

No citizen can understand his own place in the universe of citizen duties and opportunities unless he knows the importance of keeping foundations and all other volunteer activities in their places, as aids to and not obstructions to Democracy.

In the chapter on the specially gifted this issue between private agencies that aid and private agencies that dictate and subsidize is further developed.

Many civic agencies are organized to prevent public action; many others are organized to promote and hasten public action.

Because within a community there are different degrees of wealth, of knowledge, of public spirit, there should be in every well organized community many different kinds of civic work, some urging, some protesting, some teaching, some blazing trails. No society is truly representative which does not provide for more varied, more continuous and more proportioned representation of community interests than is possible by way of an occasional election.

Because no one group has a monopoly of inspiration, public spirit, energy and vital interest at stake, it is unwise for any city or state to accept as gospel what any one group declares and advises. Therefore it is urgently necessary that the civic work of every group shall have as executives and spokesmen persons trained for leadership and as members persons trained to require adequate leadership.

Where leaders and privates in civic work are not properly trained either before they take responsibility or after they assume it, the general public will often be seriously and expensively misled.

Whatever the cause for which any group stands it is better for its community that the cause be described and urged with honesty, earnestness and the highest possible efficiency.

That in all parts of the United States cities and states are doing what civic agencies request rather than what the whole public wants them to do, few realize. Yet it is a fact so full of promise and warning that we can no longer safely shut our eyes to its meaning.

While we are all more or less familiar with interference by "politicians," "party managers" and "bosses," and other outside special interests working through and upon politicians, we have not yet accustomed ourselves to the new kind of outside interference by civic agencies. They persuade legislators to vote for or to refuse to vote for projects. They induce cities to buy parks or by either secret lobbying or extensive advertising persuade cities against buying parks.

The proverbial tempest in a teapot is taking place every day in our cities and states when civic agencies representing sometimes not one half of one per cent. of the public, too often representing only a handful of men and women, set in motion agitations that quickly lead to new laws and new expenditures. In a season an idea that originates in the New York office of a national foundation has by dint of clever press agenting and colporteuring or field agenting infected and taxed two hundred different cities from ocean to ocean.

For the annual picnic of the Jolly Bachelors Club of a certain city an option was secured on a large mansion with large grounds. Because of the enormous advertising that would result from a great Decoration Day picnic by the Jolly Bachelors Club, the premises were rented at a nominal sum; because this organization with a great program for advertising was to hold its annual picnic on these grounds the street railway company made special arrangements for increasing its service to accommodate the crowd; because the prestige of having served this crowd would help them throughout the next year bandmasters and caterers and entertainers gave their services at little or no cost. The picnic was a great success. Everybody made money, including the Jolly Bachelors Club. When I asked the man who was showing me the club's profits who all

were in the Jolly Bachelors Club, he blushed and pointed to himself!

In similar ways individuals or small groups are able through civic work to set in motion larger groups, labour unions, church clubs, women's clubs, political forces, newspapers, etc., until whole communities have done and paid for what the small groups set out to have done

So normal is this procedure that it is becoming harder every year to take any forward step until after private agencies by experiment have pointed the way.

It would take many books merely to cite instances where civic workers have at slight or great expenditure of time and money persuaded cities and states to take notable forward steps,— and notable backward steps, too. Fortunately, however, there is something about the public mind and civic work which makes civic leaders much more effective when they are right than when they are wrong so that the instances of successful opposition by civic agencies to public welfare are not as numerous as are the instances of successful furthering of public welfare.

A small committee of Detroit citizens called the Bureau of Governmental Research have in little more than a year led that city of over 500,000 population to reform its school business methods, its police and fire departments, its methods of accounting, its hospital

and park departments, its budget procedure, its food inspection, etc.

A similar committee of one hundred men in Colorado, working through fewer than a dozen paid workers, gave Denver the first operation report of any city in the country, a new budget procedure, a school survey, a constructive survey of twenty-two charitable institutions; and gave to the State of Colorado a survey of all state departments and proposals for a new school code.

The board of aldermen of New York City recently decided to investigate school needs with special reference to overcrowding and to facilities for industrial training. This was not a political action. No alderman thought of this inquiry. Instead it was suggested by the labour unions who also mobilized parents' associations to petition the aldermen for such an inquiry. The earlier school inquiry, upon which New York spent over \$100,000 in 1912, was first suggested and outlined by a small group of civic workers. The Cleveland school survey, which overturned Cleveland's school administration in 1916, was not only conceived but was paid for and conducted by citizen agencies.

A handful of women in Jackson, Tennessee, in one year brought about the physical examination of school children, the employment of visiting nurses for the poor, including the coloured population, and summer instruction of mothers in the care of babies.

Hundreds of attractive rest rooms for farm women are found in parks or in pleasant buildings of rural communities, because of the activities of women's clubs.

In New Haven a civic federation of men and women effected in 1916 changes in the city's health service, jails, courts and housing; secured a children's building for the detention and care of children; drafted an antismoke ordinance; established a help-your-city complaint bureau; gave lectures on thrift, temperance and moral welfare; conducted playgrounds until the city took over their management; conducted a clean up week and campaigns against disease breeding flies, mosquitoes and rats.

One of the most important public projects which any city has ever considered, the plan for ridding New York City's streets of the nuisance and danger of the New York Central Railroad's tracks and trains, has been repeatedly blocked when at the point of execution by half a dozen active civic agencies representing all told fewer than 5,000 members. This, mind you, in a city with over five million inhabitants and in spite of the fact that other civic bodies representing billions of dollars and including the Merchants Association and the Chamber of Commerce favoured the plans!

How have the handful of opponents been able to prevent projects that were favoured by the most influential forces in the United States? The principal reason

is that the handful opposed to this pian were more efficient in their civic work. They studied the plan to the minutest detail. They not only studied but they remembered. They not only remembered but they saw to it that fact after fact was placed before the general public and legislators so that newspaper editors and hundreds of thousands who talk and vote could not be misled by general argument in favour of the plan. When the agencies representing billions of dollars of business came before the city officials to support the plan, they showed by their answers and by frank admissions that they were merely "rubber stamping" and megaphoning arguments handed to them by somebody else and that they themselves had not studied the plan. This lack of study by civic bodies was so flagrant that the mayor, who himself was favouring the plan, publicly expressed surprise that its most influential advocates should publicly exhibit their lack of knowledge. Publicity of the provable defects in the plan was so extensive and so convincing, thanks to the concrete facts available, that the state legislature almost unanimously voted to send the plan back for repairs, to take it out of the hands of the officials who had been urging it, and if necessary, to investigate the steps by which a plan with so many defects came to be submitted to the public.

The child labour laws which have been passed by a great majority of states and by the national govern-

ment are due to the constant peg, peg, peg, or rather the constant light, light, light of a group that is very small in numbers but very large when acting with the momentum and the appeal of and truth about child labour.

Few communities lack civic agencies that are trying to get from the whole public something which will favour a small part of the public. Naturally such civic work thrives upon secrecy and misrepresentation and upon keeping the truth from the public. No tool has ever been found by the forces of evil and selfishness that can help them as effectively in misleading the public as is the influential civic agency which is not efficient in its work, which does not study before it recommends or look before it leaps.

To offset such activity and to organize the public interest and vision of every community, the other kind of civic work is needed which asks only that all of us shall take one new step after another which will remove injustice from some of us and will benefit all of us.

What your city has already decided to do is a compromise between forces of yesterday. This compromise was made in the light of yesterday. New facts make yesterday's program unsatisfactory for today. Communities are like boys: last year's sleeves leave a big gap at the wrist; to notice the gap, to call attention to it, to point out how it should be corrected will always

need volunteer civic workers in addition to public officers, because officers who represent all of the public are in duty bound not to press proposals that the whole public or a majority of it does not yet understand or want.

This civic work is of such vast importance to patriotism that society must make sure that it is trained and that each of us is trained for it.

So important is the civic leader that we can more easily afford not-yet-trained mayors than we can afford untrained civic leaders. If your chamber of commerce is untrained to see straight and to want straight it is almost certain that your city government is far behind the times, is i. efficient and wasteful and at many points is unjust if not dishonest.

Aggressive opposition and inspired opposition come more often from civic leaders than from public officers. In fact, public officers often lead best after they have left office and can give the public the benefit of lessons learned while in office, without being hampered, wearied, frightened or legitimately restrained by their official duties. It was not until Theodore Roosevelt was an ex-president that his full blown progressiveness disclosed itself.

What the incoming officers of any city or state will try to do, depends very largely upon what organized groups of civic workers were strongly urging long before and during the campaign. More and more political parties for their own sakes are trying to find out when making platforms what civic agencies have been educating their communities to desire.

How many of us in the United States are connected with one or more civic bodies, no census shows. There are more individual memberships than there are separate persons belonging because many people belong to a large number of different agencies. In fact, there are people who have a passion for belonging to organizations. There are farmers who will neglect their cattle and their fields to help organize some new union. In the south, the negro's weakness for clubs and lodges has been described and ridiculed in story and song, and yet their susceptibility is one of the most important factors with which civilization can build.

Our reputation for "belonging" or "jine-ing" I once heard explained to audiences in a small German village who came regularly to my hotel to see the only American except a returned German who had ever visited this village. The village Nestor, a former kindergartner, then over eighty, used me as his starting point for explaining America to these very responsive audiences. His favourite peroration was: "In America everybody is organized. Lawyers are organized. Bankers are organized. Business men are organized. Women are organized. Parents are organized. Young people are organized. Children are organized. Finally, those who are not organized go

off all by themselves and organize The Society for the Unorganized."

It is no longer safe to assume that social and literary organizations are not doing civic work of high quality. On the contrary the bridge club of yesterday is today an active and determined baby saving club; the art club discovers that its city needs a campaign in beauty making and gives an exhibit on city planning; the dance club finds that its members who have come to like many of the same things can, if they will act promptly, influence the community to save fifty acres for a town park or to build a consolidated school for country children.

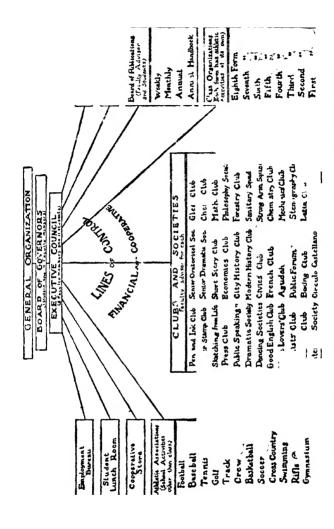
Certain it is that our extra-governmental civic agencies are so numerous, so widespread, so many sided and so productive in their activity that it is not an exaggeration to say that our civic bodies are more potent agencies of enlightenment and patriotism than even our universities and extension courses.

From infancy boys and girls and young men and women should be trained with special reference not merely to their regular duties as citizens but to the opportunities and duties of the quasi-public bodies which belong in the category of civic work. How extensive are the beginnings already made is illustrated by the accompanying cut from High Spots in New York Schools, which shows the outside pupil activities of a boys' high school.

To all civic bodies may be commended a pledge which is required of applicants for membership in the Arista League, the honour society of New York City high schools:

"I agree to be active in the interests of the school, to keep a high record in scholarship, to be manly in my conduct, and to perform *cheerfully and reliably* any tasks assigned to me for the benefit of the school. In case I am unable to do the work assigned me at any time, I promise to make adequate provision to get it done properly. I promise that I will never be unworthy of any trust or responsibility placed upon me."

To increase by even ten per cent. the value of extragovernmental activities such as those above mentioned, would do vastly more for this country than several gifts of a hundred million dollars each to new private foundations. That there is much room for increasing efficiency is universally admitted. It is not uncommon for a real estate association, labour union or chamber of commerce - and experienced and supposedly efficient ones too — to call a meeting at eight o'clock; to expect members to drop in anywhere from eight to nine; to find a quorum at nine; to waste from two to four hours in desultory conversation or irrelevant speechmaking by the same few who have harangued every other meeting for years. In your community would it materially expedite municipal reform if certain civic bodies could be persuaded to



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muzzle inveterate talkers either by election to office or by substitution of some one else to make the public arguments?

Nor is waste of time confined to men's meetings. Change the hour from eight o'clock in the evening to two in the afternoon, and there is the same late beginning, futile talking and irrelevance and waste of time in thousands of women's clubs. Change the setting from club to college and the same can be said of innumerable faculty meetings.

Only conscientious training of ourselves and of others will prevent the continuance of this waste which is no less anti-social in its consequences just because it is private rather than official waste. Once, just before a conference at which he was to preside, Mr. George W. Wickersham, later attorney general of the United States, remarked that he would be happier if he could only have the speakers go to an anteroom and recite their introductions so that they could get down to business at the conference.

Merely from the standpoint of humaneness a nationwide crusade is needed to secure brevity and pithiness at public gatherings. How many times have you lived through experiences similar to the following:

In May, 1912, several civic agencies in the four Oranges of New Jersey, Orange, East Orange, South Orange, West Orange, decided that the time had come to organize some co-operative civic work in the interest

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of all the Oranges. To insure attendance by the people whose moral and financial support was needed, it was proposed to invite two nation-wide celebrities to speak. I was asked if I would outline a civic program for the four Oranges. In spite of my remonstrance that it was too much to hope for serious consideration of a concrete civic program from an audience under the spell of two great orators, the meeting was planned, and the date set six months in advance. Never had there been such a meeting in New Jersey. From miles around distinguished men and women came to the banquet and the overflow banquet.

The first speaker talked an hour and twenty minutes. After appropriate introduction, the second speaker took seventeen minutes to get started and talked over an hour. After half past ten, to an audience that gathered at six-thirty in order to have time for the serious consideration of a community plan, the toastmaster took twelve minutes explaining the need for a civic program and then introduced the speaker who was to outline that program. For the reader's relief let it be said that only two minutes were taken by this speaker.

Ten omnipresent tendencies which endanger volunteer civic work should be kept in mind by each individual whether thinking of himself as beneficiary or as giver of civic work.

Danger 1: That too many things will be undertaken by an agency or a member. Not infrequently people

gauge their activity and contribution by the number of organizations to which they belong, especially if they are on committees. Echo of this is found in Who's Who where men give learned societies to which they belong in seeming unconsciousness of the fact that everybody else knows that anybody can belong to these societies who will pay from two to five dollars a year dues. The committee repeater, who is so busy going from one committee meeting to the next so that she can finish no work for any committee, must be helped to see herself as her actual work reflects her.

Danger 2: That professional specially trained persons will be employed when not needed and will absorb the duties and growth that belong to volunteers. As stated above, too much centralization fails to train understudies, paralyzes initiative, develops autocracy in popular bodies whose only warrant for existence is that they are democratically governed.

Last winter an organization of three thousand business men asked for a hearing before a state legislature. Instead of the trainloads of merchants whom the news items had led the legislature to expect there appeared only one man to speak for them: he was not a merchant; his business was gathering statistics; he was a trained, salaried leader, a square peg in a round hole, an unwelcome representative who therefore was a hindrance to the cause he wished to help.

Danger 3: That agencies will fail to employ specially trained persons when work has grown beyond the capacity of part time untrained persons. Because it is dangerous for volunteers to abdicate responsibility and initiative in favour of paid workers is a reason for not abdicating and

is not a reason for failing to increase the efficiency of volunteers by employing full time trained workers when they are needed.

Danger 4: That club politics will displace club service in membership's interest. Almost every practice that is associated with the evil repute of politics in national and state affairs is found in private organizations.

Personal scandal and villification have made many national and state conventions a mere scramble for office and for factional gain.

It was my privilege last year to attend a state federation of women's clubs. The women from one city came to that convention determined to elect a local leader for state leader. A preliminary campaign had been conducted by correspondence and personal visit. On the very first day a well organized claque was in evidence. Several men accustomed to gauging the trend of forces in political gatherings felt sure that this organized group would succeed in forcing its will upon the convention. By a narrow majority this candidate was defeated. Immediately thereafter the newspapers of her city printed attacks upon the outgoing president; then several of the local organizations seceded from the state organization; finally vicious personal attacks were made upon different women held to be responsible for losing the election.

This is a mild case which can be duplicated in numerous other private organizations. For years the dentists and dental societies in one of our large cities have been dominated, driven, blackguarded, almost blackmailed, by a small coterie of dentists obviously trying to use the organization for personal advancement.

Danger 5: That agencies will fall into the hands of

busybodies, repeaters and climbers, who want to use them instead of being of use to them. "What are we meeting as today?" is not only a question actually asked by a clique in one of our large cities but is symbolic of conditions that are still too general.

Danger 6: That agencies started as impersonal associations of several individuals will re-elect the same officers so often that the agencies themselves will come to be regarded as personal mouthpieces of individuals.

Danger 7: That agencies will be satisfied with blind alley, flash-in-the-pan self-advertising. The mere statement of this danger will recall to readers innumerable mass meetings, enthusiastic interviews, resolutions or perhaps final reports that have come to naught. For example, in 1914, a committee of citizens answered the mayor's call to investigate conditions of unemployment in greater New York. One of the subcommittees investigated methods of employing dock labourers or longshoremen. In October, 1916, an elaborate report was published which showed that the condition of longshoremen was a disgrace and menace to New York's business and government. Various constructive suggestions were made, yet not a syllable about that report appeared in a daily paper, and not a step was taken for ten months when a woman school principal set out to investigate these same conditions, unearthed this report and set various civic forces in motion to carry out the constructive suggestions. A census of foundling proposals and studies would help American civic agencies.

Danger 8: That there are no reports of activities or that the reports are in such vague terms as to be useless. Judged only from the standpoint of making friends, civic

reporting is still quite generally wasteful. It is doubtful if any citizen body has a moral right to withhold from the public specific information that would lead to public action or at least lodge responsibility upon public shoulders if the facts were published.

Danger 9: That private agencies will outlive their programs and be dead without knowing it. Strange as it may seem to those who have not studied civic bodies, it is almost impossible for an agency to discontinue its activity even though there is nothing for it to do but write appeals and spend money. There are so many instances where civic agencies are actually standing in the way of public progress that there is a strong movement throughout the United States to give to state legislatures or officers the power to apportion for public use endowments and properties neld by obsolete forms of charitable and educational activity. In Philadelphia, for instance, persons well informed as to needs of children go to bed every night in deadly fear lest the morning papers will announce that another obstinate rich man or woman has died and left another many-million-dollar endowment for another orphanage, at a time when public intelligence says that existing orphanages should distribute their children among the always available childless homes.

Danger 10: That private agencies will be used for political purposes by public officers. No sooner does a civic agency gain public confidence by its impartial criticism of government conditions and methods than government officials try to "take it into camp" by appointing its leaders to salaried or honorary positions. One great reform after another has gone to pieces because its advocates have been treated so considerately or flatteringly by

public officers that they have lost ability or desire to see defects. New York City's municipal campaign of 1917 centres in the claim that civic agencies not responsible to the public rather than officers elected by the public have been running the city. Civic agencies cannot afford to give up their permanent asset—outside point of view and freedom—for the temporary advantage of special influence upon officials. The minute a civic agency begins to keep secrets from its client, the public, its probabilities for harm exceed its probabilities for good, and decay has set in.

Among the fundamentals of preparedness for voluntary civic activity are five:

1. Team-mindedness: It is no small task to look at questions my-group-ly rather than my-self-ly. People who cannot do team work with their own civic agencies will find it practically impossible to think of large public questions from the standpoint of the larger team involved. The labourer who has achieved the subordination of self, who looks at things primarily from the standpoint of his labour union, is much more apt to respond to the call of all-citizenship than the labourer who still plays a lone hand.

There is more or less of the spirit of martyrdom called for in every unofficial activity; for example, willingness to go to a group meeting because one's group is meeting, notwithstanding reason for believing that from the purely personal point of view time will be wasted.

2. Habit of punctuality: This fundamental need

speaks for itself although the habit is found so seldom that it needs many special advocates and much intensive cultivation.

3. Habit of questioning tefore acting: "We'll vote first and discuss afterwards," is a principle which may have built up some of our big corporations. It may even build up society endowments and payrolls. But it cannot build up the feeling and seeing and acting strength of civic agencies. It is a method which makes bosses just as truly in civic bodies as in political bodies. In too many organizations it is impossible for more than one or two persons to express an opinion. They have the force to swing the majority; and after the majority, however small and however fictitious, has voted its decision and after the quorum which may be a very small minority, has taken a position, the other members feel bound at least to refrain from criticizing.

For example, in May, 1917, a committe of the New York Chamber of Commerce wrote a report severely criticizing the public schools of New York: the great mass of children were unclean, untruthful, impolite, and indifferent to mistakes; the teaching force was incompetent, inefficient and indifferent to the individual welfare of the children. Although signed by only seven names and actually participated in by fewer still, this criticism went out as the expression of several thousand chamber of commerce members. In this particular case protest from within secured a modification of the report. Ninetynine per cent. of the membership, however, never asked a question.

One custom is widely operating to nullify the good intent and good work of civic bodies, namely that of telegraphing or writing to legislators and governors and presidents without any evidence or reason except that some other society or civic leader by telephone or letter sends out an S. O. S. call. A congressman told me this summer that he was interested to see how one hundred telegrams of protest against a position taken by him had actually originated. This answer he obtained from one business man after another: "Why, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce telephoned me and said that Banker A—— and Lawyer B—— asked would I let them sign my name to that telegram. That's all."

4. The habit of independent analysis and deliberation: There is plenty of time to wait for any public improvement until the public knows why it needs and wants that improvement. There is plenty of time for any civic worker or for the membership of a civic agency to consider why it should act, what it will gain by acting, why it may not be advisable, before it goes on record. There can be no Democracy where there is not understanding, as the Russian revolution is sadly and dramatically demonstrating. Least of all can there be Democracy in an organization which silences the minority. The reason given by Governor Hughes for removing Manhattan's borough president, in spite of the fact that this borough president had received an overwhelming vote for re-election, should be embodied in a working philosophy of all club members: "The majority, no matter how large, has no right to impose upon a minority, no matter how small, an incompetent government."

The necessity of being team-minded is entirely compatible with the necessity of having the habit of independent analysis. Team-mindedness ceases to be a virtue and becomes a menace when independent analysis is not practised.

5. The habit of exacting from government the full measure of what government has undertaken to do: Among the minimum essentials of every well trained citizen should be the understanding that his public officers and employés are better equipped or ought to be better equipped to do any job by wholesa' than is a citizen committee. When, therefore, a problem arises that belongs to the whole public there is no excuse for any civic body carrying any larger part of that load than it is compelled to carry. Its motive should be merely to use its own resources to accelerate officials, facilitate their work, or to demonstrate to them and the public the need for everybody's getting under the load through everybody's officials.

For example, the government food administration commission sent word to the Institute for Public Service asking if we would ascertain the price of bread in small bakeries and its relation to the price of flour. We had a small staff and three days in which to do the work. If all of us had given all our time we could have hoped to learn about possibly 200 small bakeries. In getting the information that way we could have accomplished relatively little educationally among the bakers. Two steps were

taken to broaden the educational influence and to increase the returns. The director of cooking of the board of education was interested and sent three blanks each to one hundred and eighty-eight teachers. The commissioner of health was interested and detailed fifty inspectors who in one day returned facts for five hundred bakeries.

When later Mayor Mitchel appointed a food aid committee to interest all classes in food conservation, he made up the committee chiefly of private citizens and agencies and failed even to include the health department's bureau of food and drugs which for several years has been developing its influence and effective educational methods and which will remain long after the present emergency expires. At the suggestion of a citizen agency Mayor Mitchel appointed the director of the bureau of food and drugs with the thought that whatever is gained by this present emergency propaganda will be incorporated in the permanent program and strength of the health department.

Each of the foregoing five fundamentals is capable of training. Each of us can easily tell for himself whether he has and habitually practises the five qualities here listed as essential and each can tell for the agencies he belongs to and other agencies he observes how far if at all, all or any of the ten dangers above listed are in evidence.

Any effort, however, to begin the right kind of training by wholesale must begin with us before we are

adults and can be most effectively directed through the public schools. The importance of it for adults has been recognized by the Municipal University, Akron, which in a community lecture course for the session of 1917–1918 is taking up subjects which include the seven following:

- 1. Brief introduction to sociological study.
- Causes of social maladjustment physical, social, industrial
- 3. Social effects of readjustment.
- 4. Technique of social effort.
- 5. The larger conception of public health.
- 6. New ideals of education.
- 7. Social legislation.

Public schools have already proved their efficacy in country as well as in city. It is a romantic story which children's clubs are telling in team work for better school spirit, better farms, better towns, better homes and better citizenship.

The reciprocal relation of non-governmental civic agencies to governmental civic agencies is illustrated by an outline of *A Lesson in Civics from Pippa Passes*, which I was prompted to prepare by several experiences where charitable agencies actively opposed city wide reforms on the ground that they would make private charity unnecessary. A Y. W. C. A. cannot afford to be so enthusiastic about an enrolment of one thousand girls that it will overlook its obligation

# A Lesson in Civics from "Pippa Passes"

### Introduction

Robert Browning's "Pippa Passes" "is hinged on the chance appearance of Pippa, a poor child, at work all the year round (save one day) at the silk mills at Asolo, in Northern Italy, at critical moments in the spiritual life-history of the leading characters in the play. Just when their emotions, passions, motives are swinging backwards and forwards Pippa passes by singing some refrain, and her voice determines the actions and fashions the destinies of men and women to whom she is unknown."

Unconscious influence is sometimes underemphasized by social workers.

Conscious influence is sometimes underemphasized by the religious-minded, by beauty-makers and truth-seekers and by philanthropists and educators endeavoring to further human happiness.

If those who see needs could learn the language with which those having extra time and extra money describe life's most vital truths, both conscious and unconscious influence would be continuously employed to prevent government from manufacturing wretchedness, sickness, crime and incapacity.

## Pippa passed

Holiday makers, villagers, mill hands, street girls, students of painting and sculpture, drunken revelers, procurers, police officers, municipal officials, adventurers, employers, victims, victimizers.

Affluence, penury, mansion, hovel, sanctuary, grog shop.

# Pippa unconsciously influenced

Directly: two of "Asolo's four happiest ones," and two others. Indirectly: a paramour, a bride, a mother and a steward.

Those who are happy, cheerful, buoyant, confident, radiate happiness, cheer, buoyancy, confidence.

Self-depreciation and ingrowing thoughts are antisocial and profligate:

"All service ranks the same With God, whose puppets best and worst Are we; there is no last nor first."

# Pippa passed without influencing

Tempters, tormenters, misguided mill girls, drunken revelers, procurers, a trust-stealing, child-ruining city official.

Organized forces of evil working consciously and intelligently three hundred and sixty-five days each year.

#### The lesson in civics

Pippa escaped harm by accident.

Pippa saved souls by accident.

To rely upon accident for individual or social improvement is gambling.

Pippa returned to her garret to wind silk "the whole year round to earn just bread and milk."

To confine her singing to one holiday is wasteful.

Pippa's exuberance was due to ignorance of dangers and evils that abounded in Asolo.

To combat temptation, crime, injustice and overwork by ignorance by "unconscious influence" or by "irresponsible berevolence" has proved *ineffective* in fire protection, health protection, education, perology, charity and religion.

Human experience, as well as religious precept, qualifies the statement: "All service ranks the same with God."

Individual growth and social progress require both organized opposition to evil and organized assertion of the right to be free from organized temptation, to be educated, to be refined, to be industrially and socially efficient, to be morally and physically strong.

Only by organization can communities utilize every day in the year the aspirations, religious motives and love of one's fellow-man that are epitomized in Pippa's philosophy and song.

to use its knowledge in the interest of one million girls. This, by the way, is by no means an infrequent attitude among private agencies. A second reason for reproducing the outline here is to suggest to civic agencies that by having calendars or orders of proceedings or outlines of talks, they engage the eyes as well as the ears of conferees and greatly increase the effectiveness of statements or appeals.

## CHAPTER VII

#### TRAINING FOR DRILLMASTERS AND TEACHERS

There can be no drilled army without drillmasters. There can be no teaching without teachers.

The importance of preparing drillmasters and teachers for their patriotic service has heretofor been neglected in spite of our general impression that there are too many teachers already on the market and too many drillmasters seeking employment. If universal training for military service becomes the rule we shall need in America an army of drillmasters larger than our present standing army of privates. For meeting this demand slight provision has thus far been made.

Drillmasters are needed, however, not merely for the manual of arms and for arts of warfare, but for the arts of peace as well. West Point now sees that the manual of living is as important as the manual of arms. Proposals are being made to convert West Point into a training school for teachers and drillmasters because the first thing that happens in wartime is that practically every available West Pointer must give his time to disciplining and educating privates and other drillmasters.

In times of peace army officers are apt to be called upon to help settle riots, take temporary control of a city, or meet emergencies like floods, during which time the arts of peace must be uppermost in their minds. So in times of war sanitary camps are more important than airships. The management of captured countries imposes upon armies the civil government of those countries. Yesterday's army sergeant is today's police sergeant or health officer or fire commissioner or food distributor or newspaper censor.

Industry and commerce have their drillmasters. The foreman or superintendent of a factory who is not a competent drillmaster often proves more expensive than a fire. No conservation work is more important than industrial employment training which will prevent failure by discovering each person's ability and fitting it to the right job. Whether such conservation work is successful or not depends upon its drillmasters.

Every person's ability to drill others and to teach others should be thoroughly tried out during three periods of state supervision: first, while going to school, no matter what school, private, public, parochial or home; second, while taking continuation courses in the arts and visions of citizenship in connection with regular employment up to the age of sixteen or seventeen; and third, while taking whatever training for war or citizenship may later be made compulsory.

Not only is it easier to make these tests while the persons to be tested are under state supervision, but it is the state's obligation to use that opportunity for itself and for the individuals it trains.

Because every business is a training school for drillmasters, whether we are conscious of it or not and whether we want it or not, it behooves our governments of city, state and nation to foster every sound plan for raising the ethical and business standards of private employment.

No training which the state can give throug! public schools or military camps or extension lectures can render privates or foremen immune against the deteriorating influence of incompetent, wasteful and low-motived private employment.

One hundred thousand men inured to the demoralizing habits of tardiness, slovenliness, wastefulness, soldiering, vague and low ideas, are a poor foundation for aggression or defence in either war or peace.

Every employer is one of patriotism's drillmasters. So is every subordinate of the employer, and every governor, every mayor, every police commissioner. It is because in our system we never can tell today who is to be our drillmaster tomorrow that we need as a nation to take a census of our plans and means for discovering, promoting and training drillmasters.

Because a person has not yet shown qualifications for drilling others is no reason that he does not possess them to a high degree. Three days before Ulysses S. Grant led a small force to victory at the inconspicuous battle of Belmont, Missouri, in 1861, he was not suspected of exceptional leadership qualities. The early acquaintances of James J. Hill did not prophesy for him a giant's rôle as drillmaster of railroad builders. When it was first proposed to elect an ex-college president, Woodrow Wilson, as president of the United States, not a handful of men out of twenty million, dreamt that he would develop unexampled qualifications as drillmaster of politicians, platform speakers, newspaper editors, world armies and world thought.

While private business and civil government are testing, sifting, discovering and discarding drillmasters, our stumbling and our wasting prove that we have been leaving too much for business and government to discover. We have waited too long with the individual before finding out about him and helping him find out respecting himself where he possesses and where he lacks capacity as drillmaster.

In order to release the energies of business and government for the development of abilities already shown and to reduce their problem of discovering leadership ability, it is necessary for our schools to do vastly more than they have thus far consciously sought to do for the discovery of drilling and teaching ability.

Every school should be a teacher training school no matter what the content and special object of its instruction. It is the teaching of the dentist, the teaching of the lawyer, the teaching of the physician and nurse rather than their "practising" which spells the halo of those professions. So certain is it that the technically trained man may prove a stumbling block to society unless he uses his technical knowledge and training for the purpose of teaching others, that the government would be wise if it refused permission to practise any profession until after the applicant has demonstrated his capacity to teach.

Because every foreman, every executive officer, every advertising manager and every corporation head is a teacher, one of the most direct ways in which our schools can prepare boys and girls for later vocations is to ascertain through school training what teaching ability every boy or girl possesses.

A visionary proposal? Indeed it is not. Thousands of schools are now discovering and using whatever teaching ability their older and brighter pupils possess. Semetimes the reason for employing older pupils, "big brothers" or "big sisters," as teachers is to save the private school money or to fill in an accidental vacancy in a public school; and sometimes strong teachers openly take the position that the best way they can help their pupils is to set them to helping one another or younger pupils.

In one large school in the very heart of the most congested district in the world, a child is called "retarded" not when he has lost a year or a term but during the very class exercise where he first discloses a difficulty or kink or obstacle in his arithmetic or writing. He is at once assigned to a "big brother" who gives him lessons before school or after school or during class until the initial kink has been unravelled so that he can automatically multiply  $7 \times 9$ , or automatically tell that  $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. means  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,— or automatically and æsthetically loop his o's in writing and can thenceforth keep along with his class.

In many schools it is found best to have the teacher do the big brothering or the big sistering for the individual pupil who is behind and to have capable older pupils give the class its routine work in algebra or history. Another quickly spreading and potentially valuable device, which is no less effective in its training of teachers and drillmasters because it is primarily designed to facilitate discipline and "motivation," is to organize individual classes on the self-governing plan.

There is reason to fear that it was a mistake which led to the unqualified abandonment of the "Lancastrian" or "monitorial" system which during the early part of the 19th century swept two continents like wildfire as the so-called Gary idea has been sweeping our continent of late.

An unparalleled device for discovering and training drillmasters, teachers and governors is at hand in our school systems which is capable of doing infinitely more than the boy scouts and campfire girls at their best. I refer to the "school city" or other forms of pupil self-government. I say it is unparalleled because whatever is well done for school discipline, for school recreation and for school initiative can be universalized through agencies already established and financed.

Self-government student bodies are already being officially harnessed by school and college to present plans for developing teachers and drillmasters. To them should 'a added the extra official clubs like the literary, recreational, scientific and dramatic clubs mentioned in the chapter on training for civic work.

Any effort to discover ability also necessarily discovers disability or not-yet-ability. Wherever a school sets out to search for ability to teach or to drill it will inevitably make it part of its business to find out what idiosyncrasies or deficiencies of personality or knowledge or experience stand in the way of a pupil's ability as drillmaster or teacher. Many a national asset never succeeds because he was never told that his voice needlessly arouses antagonism. Many a born leader never leads simply because he mistakes driving or vociferous imitating for leading. Many a born teacher resists his impulse to teach because his

friends, perhaps his ablest teachers, disparage teaching.

So important is teaching that, as a matter of democratic efficiency, it ought not to be necessary to give any other reason for discovering teaching ability except that it is the nation's greatest asset.

Unfortunately we are temporarily in an artificial state of mind where teaching as a profession is below par in public esteem. It is below par for three reasons, all of which clearly emphasize the reason why it ought to be above par.

One reason why teaching as a profession is temporarily unpopular is that for nearly a generation social settlements, relief societies and other civic agencies have been conducting a nation-wide campaign to attract ablest men and women away from teaching into other fields of social service. Year after year vocational conferences are held in the colleges to show the attractiveness of work in trade organizations, in journalism, in business, in chambers of commerce, in social settlements. Men and women full of their subject and brimfull of the propagandist's zeal employ all arts of dramatic presentation — eloquence, tears, tragedy, humour, lightning change, etc.— to make "anything but teaching" a brilliant contrast to alleged hum-drum, unimaginative, rut-inviting work in classrooms. Quite properly the fact is emphasized that successful work in all of these other vocations is also teaching except that it is apt to be teaching of whole communities or of large groups within a community rather than of small groups in classrooms.

A second reason why teaching as a profession has been losing in attractiveness is that great corporations have their scouts literally scouring men's colleges and universities to discover students who have exhibited in college that brain power with physical vitality which promises the kind of drilling and teaching ability which big business needs. Here too, the student who feels that he wants to teach is told that the successful salesman is a teacher; that the successful foreman must be a teacher; that the president of a great corporation must be par excellence a great teacher.

A third movement which has directly and indirectly disparaged the teaching profession has paralleled the other two movements and started from among teachers themselves. Partly because the relative position of teachers has changed in proportion as other vocations have developed; partly because salaries have not kept pace either with outside salaries or even with the rising cost of living; and partly because inefficient teachers have been allowed to clog school systems our teachers have quite generally been warning their younger brothers and sisters to go into some other profession. Because we find among teachers many personalities that are dwarfed, many bodies that are over-worked, many traditions that ought to be obsolete,

teachers themselves have been telling us that there is something about teaching which inevitably dwarfs personalities and causes over-work.

Each of these three reasons for disparaging the profession of teaching is a reason why government, business and education alike must wake up to the fact that only by inducing, and if need be by compelling our best ability to teach our schools can our nation hope to develop numerous enough or efficient enough drillmasters and leaders for its business and government.

### CHAPTER VIII

#### SPECIAL TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP IN CIVIC WORK

Until quite recently a volunteer society meant a society made up of individuals all of whom give their services gratuitously to the society. The presence of specialists or professionals in civic work is mite a new development.

In many sections of the country, in almost all rural districts, in a majority of small towns, and in many small cities the professional civic or social worker is still unknown. If in these localities anybody appears at the public meeting or in the public press as secretary of a civic body it may safely be taken for granted that he is one of a group of citizens who have expressed interest in that society's work and are giving such time as they give to it without pay.

The special training referred to in this chapter is training needed by the leader who is giving full time or responsible time to civic work. Whether such a person is paid or not paid, the need for training is imperative.

With few exceptions volunteer service is also part time service; once in a while some person works full time and over time without pay, perhaps as secretary of a city club or leader of a suffrage society.

In baseball parlance, the difference between an amateur and a professional is the item of pay. The reason for this, however, is that nobody, except an occasional small town enthusiast, gives full time to playing baseball unless he is paid. But in civic work a person who has given a lifetime to this subject and who makes it his life work, is no less professional while at that work than if he received money for his services.

Leadership may exist without professionalism. Every time a new society is born, or a new movement started, somebody takes the lead. The persons who quickly organized committees for selling Liberty Bonds so that in city after city the amounts sought were oversubscribed in a week, were leaders who, to judge from results, had previously acquired the particular training most needed for this kind of work.

Yet in few instances probably were these bonds sold by professional sellers of bonds, or were Red Cross contributions obtained by professional money raisers. On the contrary, like the overwhelming majority of civic agencies that spring up to meet some community need, the leaders were simply members chosen from a general membership to render this special service.

The evolution from unpaid leadership to paid leadership it is not necessary to trace, except to point out

how naturally the one merges into the other as continuity of service is required.

Wherever funds limit the activity of a society, it remains safe to rely on unpaid, part time service. The whole world is organized on this theory. Therefore, if individuals equip themselves to be efficient privates and followers in voluntary work we may safely count upon having suitable untrained officers. Under such conditions the officer is not a leader, not a general and not a director; he is rather a delegate, an executor. It is his business to do what he fellow members ask him to do; it is distinctly not his business to tell a society what it ought to do. The whole theory of democratic organization is that initiative shall remain with the general membership and that execution shall devolve upon officers. Incidentally it is because representatives have sailed too far from shore that the initiative, referendum and recall have been incorporated in so many state constitutions and civic charters.

As communities grow, or as the work of a civic agency grows in the number, variety or urgency of its demands, it is found that good intention is not synonymous with ability to do. It is no longer safe to rely upon superannuated ministers, or retired business men bored with their lack of accountability, or the chairman's wife's niece, or some recently widowed mother who needs to eke out a living. The general

membership has such a definite picture of what it wants to accomplish that it does not feel safe with nonprofessional services. It wants to do many things well and not some one single thing passably well. A blunder becomes more serious; the facts about a blunder are known to more people and regardless of the bungler's intent may hamper other private and public agencies. Members will not remain in a society regarding which it becomes known that its officers are behind the times or are for other reasons failing in their definite work. Furthermore, people are learning through newspapers, magazines and public presses and from visits to other cities what different kinds of service different wages will buy. They have standards of comparison which they never had before. Therefore, when deciding whom to install as paid representative they are automatically asking, "Which person is best equipped? Who knows most about what we are trying to do? Who has the personal qualifications needed to keep the organization together and make it grow? Who has already most clearly proved his capacity?"

Thus it has become necessary to remind persons who aspire to positions for which they seem not to be best qualified that their desire to serve need not mean ability to serve. This situation was illustrated years ago in a Youth's Companion anecdote. A youth without education asked his church conference to accept

him as preacher. When reminded that he was without education or experience or evidence of fitness, he insisted that the heavens had repeatedly revealed to him the sign G. P. C. which he read to mean Go Preach Christ. It was impossible for him to believe that he might have misread this code until one of the elders asked him if he was sure that G. P. C. did not mean Go Plough Corn.

To be sure that our G. P. C's are correctly read and to save the time of boards of trustees wishing to secure able executives we have extensively de loped competition for the specially trained. In women's clubs alone there are salaried posts such as financial secretary, field lecturer, professional writer, executive secretary. Labour unions have similar Chambers of commerce are now recognizing that they need as managers not special pleaders for trades or business groups, not boosters for towns, but interpreters who can explain communities to trade and trade to communities. Educational associations and civic research groups want investigators, writers, executive officers, community leaders.

The movement which is demanding trained investigators for relief societies, trained nurses for hospitals and private homes, trained secretaries of commercial clubs, trained revivalists for churches, has also infected our colleges and universities. It is no longer taken for granted, as several colleges have learned to their sorrow, that a trained minister of the Gospel who can stampede a board of trustees or a Y. M. C. A. convention can with equal success conduct an American college. While the reform is not yet complete there is a very strong presumption that the man who is elected to the presidency of an important college or university must have had some previous experience that particularly fits him for this kind of work. Similarly, when rich men finance a private school they are beginning to ask about the personal and professional qualifications of the person to head that school.

Such training for leadership has now been carried so far in larger cities that long before smaller communities have been educated to their need for trained leaders, a revulsion against the trained leader will have acquired considerable headway in the larger cities. Gradually, the ordinary citizen is finding himself displaced by the professional. One of the great problems in social work and in public service is how to gain the advantage of trained leadership and trained management without incurring the disadvantage of a helpless, unthinking followership.

If in order to secure efficiency it is necessary to keep citizens from active participation in civic work, people are beginning to see that efficiency comes at too high a price or rather that efficiency of participation is more important than efficiency of immediate results; that it is better to make blunders in presenting facts, urging changes, and opposing reforms than to paralyse a civic hody by benumbing its members; that it is better to have an uncertain aim than a palsied arm; that it is better not to have a health committee of a women's club than to have all the work of this committee done by a paid employé; that it is better for volunteers to use their mites of patriotism in demanding activity by their government than to abdicate all initiative in favour of a paid representative; that no one can represent a volunteer organization when that organization is lifeless.

Thus it is that in civic work rotation in office is good for the community. No work is more important than the training of leaders. The more who have had experience in leading the better it will be for any town. There need be no fear that superior ability will lie fallow and be wasted. Those who have proved to themselves and others that they have capacity for leadership seldom backslide. The very task of proving leadership heightens and broadens the vision. Similar opportunities to be of service are seen and the desire to be of help is intensified. It is wasteful to keep the same person as president of a chamber of commerce or a women's club. As between the practice of no reelection at all and re-election for say even three years, it would be better to insist upon no re-election. It is poor gratitude for excellent service which lets one leader prevent the development of other leaders.

"Great are the symbols of being, but that which is symbolic is greater;

Vast the create and beheld, but vaster the inward creator."

The opportunities for special training for leadership in civic work fall into five different groups: apprenticeship in actual work; the one or two weeks' institute; the six weeks' summer course; the all year or two year course, or equivalents spread out through a college course; and field training through work that needs to be done.

Now is no time to ask which of these five methods of training is best. There is a time when each is best for a particular worker or for a particular community. It will not do to depreciate the importance of apprentice training; it is not true that a person who has heard lectures about chamber of commerce work has better training than that same person would have after doing the things that are lectured about; it is not true that for the unprepared person a two year course is better than a one year course or that a whole year is better than an inspirational institute or summer course. Stevenson might have said of training for leadership as he said of life: "To travel hopefully on is better than to arrive." This year's apprentice goes to a summer course; next year's summer course will not suffice for him. Perhaps he should go to an institute for trained workers. Three years from now one solid year may be needed. Through all of the alternatives should run the laboratory method, that is, the method of training through work that needs to be done on time and done right.

Schools for would-be professional civic workers in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York have formal curricula that vie in variety and complexity with the offerings of colleges. Other cities are following with short courses for workers already in harness, and with preliminary courses for volunteers. One of the first steps taken by the Red Cross after war was declared in 1917 was to start all over the country courses for volunteers in first aid to the injured, and in giving family relief. Colleges are following with special courses in war service.

More courses are needed in colleges, normal schools and high schools to prepare civic leaders. There is room in courses of study for this instruction because there is no better way to teach political science and applied psychology than through organized student activities, which colleges are finding to serve much the same purpose as an all-year Plattsburg.

So few are the persons who have been specially trained that many a man or woman who starts to school with the thought of being an expert follower or expert obeyer of other persons' directions finds himself or herself asked to assume the duties of leadership for a city wishing a city manager campaign, for a

chamber of commerce wishing to study public schools, or for women's clubs wishing to supplement volunteers with professional service. For some time opportunities for leaders will be so numerous in proportion to the number of candidates that ability will be recognized more quickly than students have any right to expect.

What people study who take special courses for leadership in civic work is not the important fact for us. The single point we want to make here is that the person who occupies a responsible relation to any civic work shall ask himself whether he is prepared; that he shall then take steps to see that he supplements his previous experience by training and instruction, and if necessary take time to go to other cities or some central school for both specialized field work and other specialized instruction.

The test of training is whether or not a civic leader is competent to see the opportunities in his or her town, to enlist others in using these opportunities, and to do the routine work promptly and competently. What one knows is of itself no test of one's ability to do.

The demand for civic leaders is growing too rapidly to be supplied without the aid of special training schools or centres. The facts about other towns' successes make a dozen towns a month want new civic leaders. Sometimes this demand is not for a new leader but for new work by old leaders. In either case the organizations cannot afford to do their own training. They want some one who can start on a run instead of working up gradually to a run.

Training for leadership must therefore be organized for two different groups—those who have not yet experience in the field, and those who have some experience but want to learn short cuts toward new abilities.

For both groups, whatever the type of school, the best possible training is such as has already been organized in several different cities, namely, maining for civic work via doing civic work, training for public service via rendering it. Instead of listening to talk about work the future civic leader will benefit most from doing work under supervision so that he will see where he has strong points to build upon and weak points to be corrected.

Instruction preliminary to such field training is already being given by many high schools and colleges. How communities are organized, what kinds of civic work are being done, what ends are to be sought, and what mistakes to be avoided are explained by the lecture and textbook method in many high schools and colleges.

But after the would-be civic leader knows in a general way what ought to be done, it is necessary for him to prove ability to meet special situations, to get the information promptly, to get all the information

needed, to marshal that information in brief and acceptable form, to place it before those who need to be convinced and interested. Earlier this kind of training has been mentioned as part of regular civics work in elementary and high school.

Those wishing detailed information with respect to field training for civic leadership will do well to write to one or all of four sources: the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy which trained, for example, the secretary of the Cincinnati Women's City Club; the Society for Promotion of Training for Public Service, which in 1917 secured legislative authorization for a special course in field training for public service at the University of Wisconsin; the University of Michigan which trained the city manager for Beaufort, South Carolina; and the Institute for Public Service which represents a group of training centres in Akron, Dayton, Detroit, Evanston, Evansville, Jackson, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, St. Augustine, Toronto and New York City.

Two concrete examples of training for civic work via doing civic work will show that it is feasible to arrange for such training in every state and in every city where there is civic work needing to be done.

A Yale graduate came to New York in 1917 for field training with the Institute for Public Service. We were in the midst of preparations for public hearings on the West Side Improvement Plan to end Death

Avenue and the nuisances and dangers above referred to. This Yale man was not given books to read about government nor was he given lectures. It would have helped him little to pour information into his head before there were any questions there. Nor could we have found out much of importance about him by talking to him. Therefore he was asked to help secure information which New York needed.

First he was sent to two libraries to see what facts were being collected there with regard to this important city project. His report showed that the arrent history of the debate was not being kept. When the mayor was told this he asked the municipal reference library to estimate what it would cost to start a clipping service which would keep and properly file whatever newspapers and magazines have to say about any subject vital to New York City.

A second assignment had to do with ticket speculators who were raising prices on opera seats from \$1.50 to \$4 and from \$6 to \$12 or \$20, etc. This student's facts when reported led to the appointment of a committee by the Metropolitan Opera Company and to a thorough investigation by the city's commissioner of accounts with a view to law enforcement and remedial legislation.

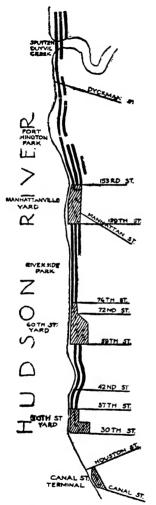
These two assignments were incidental. His main assignment was to help get information for the public regarding the West Side Improvement Plan. The objections were reported and digested by him. From these notes a summary of the opposition was given out to newspapers and appeared in full in two newspapers each read by several hundred thousand persons. Numerous special investigations and digests were made to help us prepare our own statements of fact which the student gave out to newspapers and city officers.

As part of these statements two maps were drawn by the student, one as on page 139, showing what no one else had prepared, namely the new trackage and yardage that it was proposed to give to the New York Central, and the other showing a plan for zoning freight distribution and for private terminals on city-owned piers as a substitute for the proposal to give to one railroad a monopoly of terminal facilities without even imposing upon it the duty to develop those facilities.

This student was sent for further training to Jackson, Michigan, in answer to a telegram from the city manager, who wanted some one to collect facts and prepare a graphic exhibit for the citizens of Jackson to show how the city manager plan compared in cost and service rendered with the plan it superseded.

Does the reader feel that such training prepares a student for civic leadership?

A western woman who had secured a Master of Arts degree from Columbia University wished summer training for civic work. She visited houses quar-



New and Additional Trackage and Mileage Proposed for New York Central Railroad

To illustrate the testing and educating value of field training for public service via doing work that needs to be done.

Drawn by Yale student with Institute for Public Service as per p. 136 ff.

antined for infantile paralysis to see whether quarantine signs were up and quarantine observed, and reported results to the commissioner of health; inspected food and fruit stands to see if the sanitary code was violated; inspected streets, yards and city properties for presence of waste paper and other litter; summarized, or, as we say, "high spotted" educational reports for widely helpful facts and suggestions.

Do you see how in this kind of training for civic leadership communities obtain benefits while students get training, and do you see how hard it is for strong or weak points of personality and of previous preparation to escape notice when a person is training via doing work that needs to be done right and on time?

Other illustrations of community service rendered while men and women were in training for civic work follow:

- Wisconsin's rural school survey which led to the passage of over twenty measures for improving rural schools including minimum salaries for teachers and county superintendent.
- 2. The Wisconsin study of eight normal schools was begun by men in training and finished by one of them in co-operation with normal school presidents and the state superintendent of instruction, which survey led to a new era of self-study and self-improvement by Wisconsin's normal schools.
- 3. Ohio's statewide school survey that was called a "veritable educational renaissance" and which the

United States bureau of education said led to more constructive legislation than any state had ever before passed at one session.

- 4. The ocean beaches at Coney Island, Rockaway Park, etc., were recovered for the people because of investigations and legal argument prepared first by a man in training.
- 5. Pine Bluff, Arkansas, through a local committee, had a survey of its city government by a man in training.
- 6. The most comprehensive reports ever published of outside co-operation with public schools and the only digest of New York's school inquiry were prepared by a recent woman graduate who sought training for civic leadership.
- 7. Portland's (Oregon) municipal reference library and the know-your-city exhibits of Springfield, Mass., Waterbury, Conn., Jersey City and Cincinnati; the health surveys of Newark, the Oranges, Syracuse, St. Paul and Dayton; attendance department surveys of New Rochelle and Milwaukee, are other illustrations of rendering service while learning to lead in rendering civic service.

Nor is it necessary to send persons away to one of these centres for training for civic leadership. Some little can be done by way of correspondence courses which will help workers already in the harness analyse their own needs and successes; and by having reports criticized frankly with questions pointing to new activities and increased efficiency.

The possibility of training for social work through correspondence has not yet been realized, either by the trainers or by persons who desire training. Several years ago I suggested to the University of Chicago that a course in sociology was needed which would start with the environment of the student instead of with a definition of society. I was asked to give such a correspondence course. It was announced that a course would be given in practical sociology, each person to start his work by answering questions about his own present interest. We used one text book as a "home base" or as a "tuning fork" to help the reader keep his key. People with varied interests applied: a woman of means who mainly desired to learn how to give money and voluntary service wisely; a college graduate hoping to become interested in social work; a house physician at a women's insane asylum; a nurse in private practice. For the nurse two sets of questions were prepared which asked what public service work nurses were doing in her city; how they were fighting tuberculosis; how they were saving babies. educating mothers, etc. After filling out the second set of questions, this nurse wrote back that the need for a visiting nurses' association had been made so clear to her that instead of completing the correspondence course she proposed to give her knowledge to organizing such an association.

Still more can be done by three other important trainers, namely, the citizen who refuses to follow any civic leader's suggestions until reasons are clear; the member of a civic agency who can help by demanding information before he leaps or follows; and the unsalaried officer of civic agencies

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, paid workers are by no means the only civic leaders. On the contrary, in a large proportion of cases the paid worker is a follower of instructions given to him by a civic leader who is president or influential 1. mber of his board of trustees. Long after we have a supply of civic leaders who will act as paid executive officers of civic bodies we shall still suffer from lack of training on the part of the voluntary civic leader who acts as unpaid secretary or unpaid trustee. Whatever reason there is for a paid officer to take training for civic work via doing civic work under supervision and frank analysis also applies to the unpaid trustee.

Practically, however, few trustees will put themselves in the position where their work will be supervised, which means where their work is tested, analysed, frankly criticized and either improved, discontinued or put in other hands.

Practically also it is possible to give leaders training if those of us who follow will train ourselves as privates to see straight as a means of thinking straight and acting straight. If we ark the right specific questions civic leaders will find it profitable and necessary to give the right specific answers — which they can do only by consciously training themselves for more effective leadership.

## CHAPTER IX

## TRAINING FOR ENTRANCE TO CIVIL SERVICE

"Civil service" differs from "civic work" in that by common consent civil service refers to non-military service performed by government employés for government pay.

No matter how small the unit of government, whether township or nation, a person is in the civil service if he is working for the government. Township clerks, village constables, city auditors, supreme court justices, governors, congressmen, our president are all civil servants. Where so-called "civil lists" are printed, that is, lists of civil servants or employés, no distinction is made between persons who are appointed without examination and with no assurance against removal for political reasons and other persons who come to their positions by competitive examinations and are legally protected from arbitrary removal.

In common parlance, a mayor or governor or other person elected by popular vote is considered a public servant, but not a civil servant. Once in a great, great while an elected officer startles his constituency by re-

fusing the title "servailt." Witness the following dialogue: A taxpayer and distinguished lawyer: "We address you, trustees and servants of the public ..." Mr. Comptroller: "Trustees, sir, but not servants!" Another elected officer: "I am willing to be called a servant of the public." City Comptroller: "Every man to his last." Similarly, judges, whether elected or appointed, are considered public servants but not civil servants. A police commissioner named by a mayor, a state food commissioner named by a governor, or a cabinet named by the president are types of public servant. The reason for this is that for over a generation there has been much popular discussion of "civil service reform" against two ideas long universally popular in America characterized by President Grover Cleveland as unworthy a great intelligent people. These two ideas were: "To the victors belong the spoils" and "Public office is a private snap."

Partly from idealistic reasons, somewhat because of personal and party disappointments, largely because of business resentment against waste due to frequent changes among government employés and to no little degree because of organized protest from persons holding office and dreading removal, the rank and file of citizens came to believe that persons who were satisfactorily serving the public in minor positions ought not to be dropped every two years or four years when

new officers were elected. Naturally, reforms come slowly which take away from large numbers of people the principal motive for their political activity, namely, desire for jobs for the nselves or their protégées. Civil service reform, however, made unexpectedly rapid strides at least in fascinating the popular mind and in drawing a line between civil servants whose work is presumably non-political and other public servants whose work is still held to be largely political.

To readers whose contact with civil service is limited to village clerks, poll tax collectors, pound keepers and other part time public employés the idea of training for entrance to civil service will cause a smile. That smile, however, may be one of pleasure rather than one of disdain if citizens who have not yet wanted to enter civil service will only change their attitude toward civil service by raising their standard of what the public is entitled to from its public servants.

That everybody's business must be attended to by somebody and not by everybody is clear. It is true that we are all working for one another all the time when we do our private work well, but our private work is so exacting that we cannot at the same time attend to work for everybody such as keeping streets clean, inspecting milk, furnishing pure water or teaching school.

The time is past even in small cities, and is rapidly passing in rural districts when citizens can with satis-

faction to one another take turns doing public work. Rapidly, except in the very smallest units, we are finding that public business is too important to entrust to part time workers. Full time service for the public means the public must pay. When the public pays, it wants its money's worth: it resents bad service; confesses a preference for more ability, and with the facts before it, will always expect better results from persons who are trained.

After the public shows a preference for persons who had some training, applicants for positions quickly perceive that they will save time and win favour if they submit evidence of training with their application. Out of this self-interest of a public wanting satisfactory service and of individuals wanting jobs has started a circle of schools which make a specialty of training people for entrance to public service.

Heretofore, our training for civil service has been viewed from standpoints which are too narrow; namely, we have thought of it as a shortcut for individuals wishing to pass examinations, and secondly we have wanted to keep flagrantly unprepared people out of civil service. A third and broader motive we must now add, and it is that with which this chapter deals, namely, the rank and file of citizens must come to think of civil service everywhere as part of our nation's universal system of preparedness for peace and for war.

Europe's warring nations have a vastly higher conception today of their civil servants after learning to their sorrow that incompetent civil service is a drain and stumbling block to competent military service. We all see now that money and energy wasted on civil service means not only less money and energy immediately available for war service but weakened ability to generate more energy and find more money.

If civil service is part of the nation's resources for preparedness there is a great deal which every citizen can do to help secure training for entering it. He can first feel and then preach that civil service, instead of being a necessary evil, is an indispensable good; that no perso; should be admitted to public service for his own good until after it is first proved that his becoming a civil servant is for the public's good; that the civil service is a training ground as worthy of public attention and backing as are the academies at West Point and Annapolis. When a boy wins appointment to West Point, his friends do not talk about his soft snap; instead, they congratulate him upon his opportunity and help him plan for the hard work ahead of him. They do not assume that he will stop growing and will become a parasite or withering "fonctionnaire"; instead they know that he cannot stop growing at least during his period of training. We must make it possible to have the same feeling about all civil service

The worst troubles of our present civil service are due not so much to the fact that the public servant has not lived up to our expectation as that we have not expected enough of him. Hence the necessity for our change of attitude. With our change of attitude will quickly come a change in the attitude and performance of the civil servant himself who instinctively lives up to or down to the public's picture of him.

The effect of public expectation is particularly important in the overwhelming majority of communities where the only test for entrants to civil service is that which the appointing officer makes for his own protection or out of regard to public demand.

Whether we have realized it or not and whether we like it or not, we are all being profoundly influenced by our civil service. Every public employé is five times a teacher and trainer: he trains himself; he trains his subordinate; he trains his superior; he trains his successor; and he trains the public. The city postman or village postmaster who constantly studies the art of politeness under difficulties, is not merely training himself in polite service; his understudy and colleagues are infected by his courtesy; his superior officer meets courtesy with courtesy; his successor finds the public so accustomed to courtesy that discourtesy, whether self-checked or publicly resented, is shown to be harder for him than courtesy. It is just as true that the discourteous postman, postmaster

or postmistress — and there are still a few such — becomes uglier each year, invites discourtesy from subordinate and colleague, and generates a public attitude that makes it easier for his successor to be discourteous than courteous.

The citizen has four relations to civil service; he continually hears about it; he pays the bill; he is under constant pressure to think as civil servants do about further expenses and about excuses for unsatisfactory service; he is being taught by them whether he likes it or not. We must right about face and make sure that civil service educators of the public have an educational attitude toward the public and realize that the service rendered by a public employé should always be more important than his own gain.

Since civil service employés work for everybody, it behooves everybody to prepare the way for advantageously using civil service employés for national and other public ends. Our schools must head pupils toward public service; teach them its dignity, its opportunities and its limitations; train them in respect for it and prepare them for it. Many civil service duties are found in miniature in and near schools and can be taught through school chores or neighbourhood chores that need to be done. The civics class that is taught how to inspect streets for cleanliness and order, how to inspect and test foods for wholesomeness and purity and how to report violations of the sanitary

code, is being taught respect for sanitation and food inspection and is being prepared for such service in some later official capacity. In fact, for a very large number of civil posts the preparation is mainly of character and general capacities, such as those called for in the chapter on minimum essentials for privates, plus facility in clerical work which the schools can easily give.

The girl who is accredited to private employers by a high school as a stenotypist or stenographer or clerk should be capable of passing civil service tests for such posts. The boy who takes bookkeeping in the eighth grade or in high school should be required to meet the civil service tests before being certified by his school as proficient enough to leave the course. Certainly the civil service tests should in no subject be less exacting than the standard set up in the public schools for graduation or certificate. No one ought to be unable to do satisfactorily government service of the same nominal grade as his own work, nor ought any government accept employés incapable of doing private work satisfactorily. The impassable wall between civil service and private service must be lowered, and a flowering hedge with frequent openings should take its place to encourage the freest possible migration between the two.

Would it be harder to secure efficiency in civil service if we thought of it as opportunity for growth

and as a training ground for the nation's preparedness rather than as a place for specialization or of refuge from competition? Would not efficiency suffer if we changed workers every few years in order to treat civil service posts as apprenticeships? The way private manufacturers profit from by-products helps us answer these questions. There was a time when coal oil was coal oil; nobody expected to get anything from it but kerosene to use in lamps. Today coal oil means many other things besides kerosene; in fact there are more than fifty different coal oil products. I' matters little that the price of kerosene goes down when the demand for vaseline and gasoline keeps climbing.

Even if there were some slight decrease in efficiency, due to keeping in mind the educational purpose of each civil service position, it would still pay to use public employment for developing men and women for larger service rather than for securing the highest possible efficiency in each day's work of each employé. We must stop trying to get just kerosene-efficiency out of civil service, and must develop by-products in the form of varied aspiring human capacity that will help private and public service alike.

As a matter of fact there is reason to believe that "once in civil service always in civil service" paralyses efficiency and that using civil service for training would greatly increase its day by day efficiency.

Using civil service posts as stepping stones and training grounds is an extensive practice today, only it is done from personal rather than from patriotic motives. In the larger cities where coaching and cramming for civil service examinations have become refined arts, there are many civil service employés who no sooner secure a post than they begin centring their interest on some new examination that will take them out of that post. Unfortunately this practice is not confined to clerks and draughtsmen. On the contrary, public school teachers and principals are diverting a tremendous amount of energy from their own schools where the educative processes and problems are, to textbooks and university classrooms where educative problems and processes are talked about.

Furthermore, the fact that a school principal has only been in a large school six weeks does not prevent his candidating for principal of a larger school with larger salary. Again, where posts are won by "pull," success is incentive to play politics for some politically higher post rather than to play the game of the post already won by politics for all that it can be made to give to the public.

What individual ambition is already doing within the civil service, oftentimes to its serious disadvantage, public interest and ambition ought to do by wholesale, and most of all for those civil service employés whose own ambition does not prompt them to seek promotion out of jobs which they regard as old age pensions.

The idea that there should be a ferment in civil service and that no person who cannot earn his way out of his present group should be continued in the service is taken up again in Chapter X. The point to be made here is that the public must see to it that civil service rivals all other training schools as a starting point and stepladder to opportunity.

Much of the discredit of civil service, even among its own best friends, is due to the reputation of its examinations for entrance. Too often these examinations fail completely to test the applicant's ability to do the work of the job he seeks, and, instead, test his memory of facts and theories that he will never have a chance to use if he gets his job.

Such examinations are no more absurd for civil service than they are for public schools. Until we have stopped them in the public schools we shall probably continue them in civil service. Having them stopped everywhere will depend largely upon the interest which citizens take and the frankness with which they ask for fitting tests of persons who are to serve.

I was once asked what I thought about some questions that it was proposed to ask competitors for a post which required ability to correctly circulate information. My answer expresses the new conviction

of those who want each civil service post to be a training ground: any person who can answer those questions will prove his disqualification for the job, because anybody with that amount of disserviceable information in his head will probably be unable to see the human problems and the living people with which that information burcau must deal.

A preference for personality, character and proved capacity to do the thing called for is being shown by civil service commissioners. If a man's business is to interpret health statistics, he is no longer asked to write a small book about statistics as a science, but is given health statistics to interpret. When Chicago wanted a new librarian it did not abandon examinations just because this was a great educational post, but, contrary to the advice of many leading reformers, held civil service tests. Only instead of asking questions it invited competitors whose previous experience and recommendations indicated their general fitness to visit Chicago, study its library service and its library needs and then write a program for meeting future library needs. That kind of test it is reasonable for us to expect well-intentioned elected officers to apply when selecting secretaries and commissioners.

Training for entrance to civil service by way of rendering public service is not easy to organize, but happily is not impossible either. There are always foods to be inspected, always streets to be cleaned, always bridges to be repaired. There is always police work to be done so that there is no excuse for testing our would-be policemen in what they know rather than in what they can see and can do. Certain it is that it is vastly easier for people who wart to use community chores for training purposes to find them and mobilize them than it is for persons who do not want to try. The schools are generously pointing the way through their many forms of learning by doing things that need to be done.

When Portland gives courses in cafeteria wor! and allows credit for homework in dishwashing, bathing, gardening, or when it conducts a grocery store in every school to aid in teaching arithmetic, geography, economy and courtes; it is showing how boys and girls can be trained for entrance into civil service.

When Boise City boys help build the new high school, when Bridgeport boys take private carpentry contracts, when 200 New York schools have different grades of pupil self-government, when Fitchburg boys earn their way through high schools by working half time in factories, when Little Rock high school pupils take charge of one whole issue of a local twelve-page newspaper, they are proving that school chores and community chores can be organized for training.

Few lessons can be learned at military camps which cannot also be learned from service on a health squad

or police squad. Once organized, it will cost less to try out candidates for civil service through work that needs to be done than it now costs to give them written examinations. Moreover, it will always be fairer to observe applicants at their work than to judge them by what they can write or say about their work.

Among the existing means of training men and women for entrance to public service are the private commercial school; service in private business where every type of public activity has its counterpart; and beginnings in public schools and colleges.

In Cincinnati, where students of engineering work one week in the university and one week in a factory, engineering students are in the same way training to be municipal chemists and municipal roadbuilders. They start their work one week in the health department analysing foods that need to be analysed to protect public health; the next week they go back to the university where a supervisor or "co-ordinator" sees to it that what they learn in the university fits what they do at the laboratory just as the week before he saw that educational use was being made of their time in the health laboratory.

A step which, when widely copied, will promote training of elective as well as appointive public servants was taken in 1917 by the Wisconsin legislature, namely, it voted for a training school for public service within the state university which shall train men for different

municipal and state services not by lecturing to them, not by quizzing them, not by requiring them to read books, but by having them de different kinds of public work which the people of Wisconsin need to have done. Already Wisconsin's library school has proved the efficacy of this method and requires eight of forty weeks to be spent undergoing carefully supervised tests of personality, promptness, accuracy, and special aptitude for library service in public libraries throughout the state. Readers will see that this method of giving candidates truer pictures of public serve and fairer tests of their own capacity also gives those who pay the bills value received in service for the instruction they make possible.

Special schools for civil service should, wherever possible, be conducted by the public which is to employ those servants. There are several reasons for this: in the first place it is not fair to require that the small proportion of us who take civil service examinations shall first obey the compulsory attendance laws, then help pay taxes for city colleges and normal schools, and in addition go at their own expense to private schools for civil service preparation. Nor is it fair that having spent eight or twelve years in public schools they have failed to acquire high enough standards for simpler posts in civil service. Again, so far as the private coaching school earns its money by helping applicants guess at what the questions are going to

be or helping them learn earlier questions, certainly the public ought to protect itself against examinations that can be passed in that way and against employés whose preparation is thus obtained.

Since public mindedness should be a prime test for civil service, there should at least be a preference given for preparation secured in public schools even if it is not yet feasible to require that entrants be taken only from public school graduates. Where persons are taken whose training is not obtained in publicly supported schools, public employment should be for only a short period and only for the purpose of publicizing him. This would, of course, result in closer cooperation between civil service commissions acting for public officers and the public schools and universities.

Such requirement would mean that the public would know what attitude new recruits bring to civil service and would guarantee the possession not merely of capacity to do particular things, but of knowledge about and interest in those public affairs that are the minimum essentials of public service.

If public schools and municipal and state universities are to step into the gap now filled almost exclusively by private commercial schools and teachers, the enormous savings which would accrue to individuals would be partially offset by a resulting considerable cost to taxpayers for instructing them. Perhaps the cost of maintaining these schools should be borne by those

who attend them with provision for paying tuition out of later earnings.

Proof of ability to enter public service has not yet been literally applied to candidates for the legislature or other elective offices. In effect, however, we do apply such tests oftener than we realize. During political campaigns men and women who have had previous experience make a great point of advertising it. Inexperience is ably advertised by opponents. There are still some sections of the country, even where women vote, which are regaled during election time by paid advertisements in newspapers that candidate John Doe should be elected because he has a wife and five children or a wooden leg and needs the salary; or because he is a firm believer in some biblical injunction that is a universal human platform. Yet in spite of our ignoring specific tests for city officers we have done surprisingly well.

One reason why our elective officers have done so well in spite of their lack of preparation is that the public mind speaks through them and they tend to live up to the most definite and critical expectation that is voiced by any part of the public.

We, the public, shall do better in proportion as we insist upon knowing what candidates have been—specifically—and have done—specifically—before we vote for them. Just as civil service commissioners early found that knowledge about bookkeeping was

not the same as ability to keep a set of books, so voters are rapidly coming to distinguish between knowledge about government and ability to do government's work.

In conclusion, one of the minimum essentials of every American citizen is to think straight on the question of organization by public employés for any other purpose than for improving their own service and for stating the facts about any needs of that service. It must become an A B C of patriotism and government efficiency that the government neither in peace time nor in war time, and neither in city nor in nation, shall permit a small fraction of the public on the public's pay roll to discontinue or to cripple public service for all the public by strikes for higher wages or other ends. The civil servant's right to quit working no one can question except when he stops under conditions where securing a substitute is impossible and where thus public safety is jeopardized. The employe's right to keep other people from working on public business can never be conceded by a Democracy. America cannot afford to go farther than it has already gone in the direction of that species of tyranny by taxeaters over taxpayers which in France is epitomized by the "fonctionnaire" or civil servant hierarchy. No less repugnant to Democracy's ideals is it that any servant of all the people shall be unjustly treated, overworked, underpaid or otherwise restricted in opportunity to become progressively efficient. The way to achieve justice, however, is for the citizen who is trained for service to require application by the public of employment methods which in private business have abolished strikes and adjusted labour disputes by way of discovering, recognizing and promoting labour's capacities.

## CHAPTER X

## TRAINING FOR THE PROFESSIONS

Once when proctoring a medical examination medical students considered cheating respectable if not detected, so that it was necessary to have somebody proctor, and no medical student was willing to tell on a fellow professional — I noticed that every one of the first ten men who handed in papers had misread the ninth question. This fact was stated to the hundred students who remained. Of the next dozen papers handed in two out of three showed that this question was still being misread, which fact was reported. Several men then came forward and asked if it meant this or that, whereupon I announced that I had already gone farther than a proctor should go, that they were expected to understand the English of their examination questions, but that if there were two possible meanings it would be well to play safe and answer both possible questions. "In fact," I said, "it is a safe rule in an examination to tell all you know." This suggestion appealed to several men who annotated their notes elaborately. On one paper the expression "secretory glands" was starred and the footnote read:

"We call them secretory because we know very little of what they do."

This first disillusionment regarding supposedly best trained professional men was followed shortly by the discovery that in the city where these men were being trained physicians of high standing supported the mayor in his dismissal of a woman physician who not only argued the public's right to know the truth about an epidemic of typhoid fever but answered the mayor's claim that business must be considered by asking, "Is business more important than human life?"

Later observations showed practising physicians throughout the country not only uninformed with respect to the jublic obligation of their profession but actively opposed to health legislation and health protection by government authorities.

Each new disillusionment sharpened my interest in the layman's right to protection against physicians who knew very little of what they themselves were doing. Gradually I came to see that the medical profession enjoyed no monopoly on lack of preparation to do their work well, but that dentists, lawyers, engineers and ministers were also being accredited by universities and state exemption boards before they were prepared.

Licenses to practise were given irrevocably without requiring an hour's previous practice or a scintilla of evidence that the would-be practitioner could actually do what books and lectures had told him ought to be done.

Will the reader begin his thinking about the training for public service which should be required of all men before their admission to professions and during their practice of it by running over quickly in his mind the doctors, dentists, engineers, nurses, etc., whom he knows? How many of them would you say give evidence of being "inspired by the true spirit of service to the commonwealth"? Will you not take the time to list some of your observations which illustrate the superiority of public-spirited professional work over private-spirited professional work?

On gala occasions like commencement days, annual conventions, and presentations of loving cups for distinguished service, members of the learned professions are in the habit of emphasizing the public service aspects of their work. Up to the final laying on of hands that marks their admission to law or medicine or ministry neophytes are constantly told that theirs is a public service profession; that it has distinct unevadable obligations; that it exists not for itself alone but for state and humanity.

Nor is this quasi-public character of certain professions mere oratorical myth or mist. The neophytes believe every word of it and are more or less permanently inspired by the thought that they will occupy exceptionally advantageous positions through which to benefit their fellow-men. The painters of these word pictures also believe what they say about the possibility of their profession however cynical they may feel as to the gap between what might always be and what too often is.

The layman who is either the beneficiary or maleficiary of professional ideals and practice cannot safely forget for one instant what leaders in these public service professions have from time immemorial set up as the layman's minimum rights when dealing with professional men.

The higher the standard of general intelligence the more dependent society becomes upon professions and the more important to every man is the training which is given for the professions. It is from the learned professions that the public secures its indispensable builders and counsellors. The public needs engineers of many kinds and it cannot afford bunglers; it needs lawyers and surgeons, physicians and teachers. Even if it did not give a quasi-monopoly to those who are admitted to many professions it would still need to concern itself about the qualifications of those who are to do its counselling, curing, building and teaching.

When professional opinion conflicts with lay opinion it is extremely difficult for laymen to make headway in calling for higher standards of preparation by professional men. When, however, laymen can quote "distinguished professional men" it is easy to secure remedial and preventive action because the layman can speak thenceforth with authority.

Two distinguished specialists, speaking to two distinguished groups within their own profession, have furnished us laymen with characterizations of present conditions and with a creed for improving those conditions which we will do well to keep in mind when thinking of all professions.

The first is quoted before stating the profession to which it was addressed. Will the reader ask if it applies to the engineers, social workers, statisticians, lawyers, dentists, physicians and other professional specialists known to him? Before being influenced by who said it, will the reader please ask whether it squares with his personal observations or if he is a professional man, with his personal experiences: "We vote but we do not really serve our community, state and country. We have been so absorbed in advancing the material interests with which we have been connected that we have failed to exercise our proper influence in behalf of the community. We establish splendid technical schools whose graduates are second to none as regards technical training. Few of these graduates, however, have been inspired by the true spirit of service to the commonwealth."

The foregoing characterization is not by an irresponsible radical or by a captious layman. On the contrary, it is quoted from President L. D. Ricketts of

the American Institute of Mining Engineers in his address this very year to the Princeton Engineering Association.

One further quotation ought first to be read with reference to the reader's personal experience and observation. Its indictment is likewise not by some disgruntled professional man or some layman with a grievance or some phrase maker. On the contrary, it is quoted directly from an address to the American Bar Association in 1916 by the president of that body, ex-Senator Elihu Root. While it refers particularly to the training and practice of lawyers, will the reader please ask if this same kind of message is needed by every other profession:

"Too many of us have been trying to get something out of the country and too few of us have been trying to serve it. With loyalty and sincere devotion the principal law schools and judges on the bench defend the public right to effective service; but against them is continually pressing the tendency of the bar and the legislatures, and in a great degree, of the public, toward the exclusively individual view.

"No untrained lawyer is entitled to impair the efficiency of the great and costly machinery which the people of the country provide, not for the benefit of lawyers but for the administration of the law.

"What can be done, what must be done, to make true and uninterrupted progress is that those members of the Democracy to whom opportunity has brought instruction in dynamics of law and self-government, shall so lead and direct the methods of development as to respond to the noblest impulses, the highest principles, the most practical idealism of this great law-making multitude, so that the growth of the law shall receive its impetus from the best and not from the worst forces of the community and be guided by the wisdom and not by the folly, the virtues and not the vices, of the people."

For the citizen wishing to do his part to insure properly trained professional men there are five minimum essentials of conviction and action:

- 1. There should be wider publicity of the facts about each profession, its standards for admission, the kinds of work it does, its rewards, the number who make a living by it, and the special qualifications for success in it.
- 2. Special training for citizenship, special knowledge of public service needs and opportunities and of governmental aims, methods, and results should be a prerequisite of admission to professional courses of law, dentistry, engineering, etc.,—including the ministry.
- 3. No person who has not proved his preparation for service by actually doing what he has learned how to do should be considered fit for any one of the learned professions.

- 4. No person should be a lmitted to any profession who has not had theoretical and field training in the public uses which are being made and which should be made of his profession.
- 5. In every community the men and women who are practising each profession should maintain an active organization for giving to the public currently the benefit of the special insight and special experience which are gained by practising that profession.

Instead of telling the ambitious sons of recent immigrants merely that the professions of law and medicine are overcrowded, society should see to it that concrete facts about the overcrowding are made known and also concrete facts about the education and personal background needed for success in those professions. The public should see that the rewards of other professions are made known to boys and girls whose main reason for going into law or medicine or engineering is to secure social prestige. It is entirely practicable to have high school boys know the possible and probable rewards from engineering, from teaching, from business, from salesmanship, whether these rewards be counted in money only or in public recognition, leisure and opportunity for self-culture.

Finally, it is entirely possible to have facts of this kind generally circulated among parents of all classes, particularly since the public school machinery is available for giving such instruction.

The only persons who may safely be accepted into learned professions without presenting evidence of knowledge about the ends and means of government when first registering for courses, are those whose courses will later insure such training either in transit or during a probationary period between the completion of the course and the final legal admission to the profession. Nor is this proposal visionary because it is being thoroughly tested in several places.

At Northwestern University teachers who are studying to equip themselves for the profession of school supervisor are required to supplement lecture and textbook by work in the public schools of Evanston. For the same reason and by similar field services professional managers are being prepared at Teachers' College of Columbia University through field surveys of rural and city schools in several New York counties, and through field studies of Connecticut schools under the direction of Connecticut superintendents.

As mentioned earlier, Wisconsin's library school not only gives practical training through each of the thirty-two weeks spent at Madison, but as a fitting climax, before finally accrediting the student, requires her to serve an apprenticeship under rigid supervision in various public libraries where the student helps do work that needs to be done.

The testing of men by the University of Cincinnati on paid tasks in real factories soon discloses any weak points of preparation of health or of character which the prospective engineer may have. No man can survive his apprenticeship who as journeyman working his way up in a busy, industrial plant proves himself an undesirable man for the engineering profession. That this process is appreciated by the would-be engineer is shown from the fact that for every vacancy there are from thirty to forty applications each year.

To require professional men to show by doing as well as by answering would seem a very rudin, itary requirement. To many people it will come as a surprise that there is anywhere a dentist or physician or lawyer or nurse who has not been tried out with practical problems under the supervision of some one who knew how to deal with those problems before being turned loose upon a trusting and dependent public. The public can refuse to be practised upon by impractically prepared physicians, dentists, nurses and lawyers.

During the probationary period of each profession it would be possible for the public to arrange field tests entirely in line with each profession's activity which would better test candidates' fitness than the same spent, for example, in military camps, unless that time itself were spent in practising a profession.

For want of just this kind of motivated testing while approaching their professions and while first trying themselves in it, tens of thousands of professional men are experiencing the worst tragedy which an honest mind and soul can experience, namely, dissatisfaction with their life work due to fear or knowledge that they are misfits.

Occasionally individuals break away and do for themselves at great expense what training schools should have required them to do. For example, a young man took his degree in theology with high honours; went to a rural church; served one year and recognized his inability to help his people meet their problems. What should he do? Keep on? Frankly admit his unfitness and ask his people to help him fit himself while continuing the position for which he was not yet fitted? Or seek appointment to a city church? What he did was to give up his work temporarily, go back to school for a course in rural sociology and agriculture, and then take up again his work with a rural church. He came back convinced that as a minister he could render no better service to his church and community than to help the farmers produce more corn, direct the young people in wholesome amusements and acquaint the farm women with the labour-saving devices that would answer their appeal for "not less work but less drudgery and more time for reading and recreation."

It is important to raise the bars as high as possible for admission to special courses for professional training. Not only is it fairer to eliminate persons before they have spent four years and three or four thousand dollars only to find that they have been on the wrong track, but it is much easier for training schools to draw the line at the beginning than it is after they have accepted the student's investment of time, money and reciprocated affection.

A standard which laymen can help secure from all professional schools is suggested by a private electrical school in New York. The course consists of eighty experiments. The length of the course depends upon the number of days it takes the student to perform the experiments to the complete satisfaction of his instructor. As each experiment is performed satisfactorily its number is punched on the card which is here reproduced. The passing mark is not sixty, or seventy-five, but is "correct."

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How could professional standards have survived the 60% passing mark? What else but havoc can we expect from the almost universal practice, from kindergarten to university and even in postgraduate work, of letting unsatisfactory work masquerade as satisfactory if it is marked 60%? In New York State the reason officially assigned for having 60% of the passing mark in Regents' examinations is that otherwise pupils from the smaller schools could not pass.

Not long ago a Harvard professor defended a doctor of philosophy thesis about which question had been raised on the ground that at Harvard it would have obtained the passing mark of 50%!

It was once my privilege to help review the standards required by a professional course in chemistry. Would you believe that we were seriously criticized for taking the position that after allowing for differences of opinion as to the relative importance of knowledge, memory and ability to do, there still remain a number of minimum essentials lacking any one of which should actually disqualify a man for the practice of chemistry? For example, the formula for water is  $H_2O$  (two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen). The physician or chemist who writes that formula HO (one part hydrogen and one part oxygen) is not two-thirds correct; on the contrary, he is 100% incorrect and a dangerous man to have about as chemist or physician.

The following experience is typical and is intended

to suggest that no professional man should be allowed to practise on a trusting, dependent public until he has proved by practising that he knows when he does not know and when he needs further study or outside advice. I once went to a physician for immediate relief from hoarseness which T feared would prevent my keeping an appointment at a public meeting. The physician was out and a substitute was taking his place. His awkwardness, unrecessary movements and obvious uncertainty as to which of several medicines to try and steps to take led me to ask a few questions which revealed the fact that it was absolutely his first attempt to treat a case of this kind. Many a life has been lost and many a lifelong injury incurred by that kind of professional work. He was quite relieved when I suggested that for the protection of both of us it would probably be better for me to seek relief elsewhere

When asked to incorporate courses which will show future professional men what the general public is doing in co-operation with their profession and how in cities, states and nation the public is using the science and art of that profession, training schools are accustomed to answer that there is too little time for giving what they already try to give. The only reply for the public is that there is plenty of time to make sure that no man shall be admitted to the bar or to medicine, etc., who is ignorant of the government he is

to represent, of its needs for the profession, of his profession's obligation to that government, or whose main idea is to defeat the purpose of the government whose officer he is supposed to be. The same legislatures which pass laws to protect those already in a profession against other men seeking to enter it can also fittingly pass laws to protect the general public against professional men willing from either cupidity or lack of preparation to injure the public.

It is feasible and indispensable that the general public should require that it be ascertained whether, for example, lawyers know enough and care enough about public interest to be able to represent the court and the public. It is feasible and indispensable also to ascertain regarding other professions whether applicants for admission and persons already in practice treat the work of their profession "as something to be done for private benefit instead of treating it primarily as something to be done for the public service."

The fifth step recommended for laymen is easy to take, namely to see whether the professional men in their localities are organized and if so whether these organizations are using the opportunities which all of them have to be of incalculable public service.

Public-mindedness of lawyers, doctors, engineers and a score of other professions quickly found expression when war emergencies showed the need for expert leadership. In peace time there is similar need. Certified public accountants have helped several cities secure adequate business systems after first showing laymen that existing systems wasted money and invited incompetence.

Graduate electrical engineers answered the public's call for help and showed one city how a million dollars could be saved by placing fire alarm boxes on present lighting poles instead of digging 16,000 holes, erecting 16,000 new poles and maintaining 16,000 new lights.

In one year one bar association's legislative committee analysed all proposed legislation and prepared no fewer than 374 printed memoranda to be sent to the governor, legislature and the press.

Any localities that have business enough to support professional men are entitled to public service activity by these men in groups. Take for example the profession of statistician. In many localities there is no such profession; there are men who do statistical work but there are no men or women who are specialists in those processes of analysis and presentation of facts which the world calls the statistical method. All larger cities and every state have need for and are paying for this kind of professional service. Much harm results from the absence of volunteer activity by statisticians which would correspond to a county medical society's constant fight against medical frauds and malpractice. Hardly a week goes by in any one of our large cities without some statistical report which, if

acted upon by the public, would cause irrevocable waste.

The professional statistician, however, because he is not organized into a group for placing public interest above private sensitiveness, does not yet feel free to step out into the open and warn the public as physicians or lawyers are beginning to feel free to warn the public against public malpractice of those professions.

If a distinguished statistician from one of our universities extolls a report of averages that misrepresent facts about a school system or infantile paralysis epidemic, other statisticians may whisper disagreement, but for want of organized public service motive do not give the public the special knowledge they possess.

Because the profession of statistician is progressively growing in importance a concrete illustration is given to fix in the reader's mind the principle of group action for the public. A state university officer was asked by a board of regents to investigate the declaration that first year students were being taught not by experienced instructors but by men and women without experience in teaching. The regents were laymen unaccustomed to analysing professional reports of statisticians. The report came back that the allegation was untrue and unjust. To prove it a department was cited where the average teaching experience of first year instructors before coming to the faculty was five years. Later analysis showed that this average was obtained as follows:

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The first instructor had taught
                                   o days
     second
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Average teaching experience - 5 years

Does the reader see why there should be an impersonal organization that reservoirs the highest motives and the best experience of all statisticians for use by the public when individual policies based upon statistical evidence must be adopted, rejected or modified?

Laymen can ask whether the professional men in their communities — including and particularly including teachers — are organized away from the public to exploit the public and serve anti-social or selfish forces or are organized for the public to help and to serve. Laymen can see that in their localities professional men have clearly and repeatedly set before them the picture of accountability which President Root, above quoted, held up before lawyers when he told them that they must think of their opportunity and technique as aids to Democracy and not as valuable instruments to get particular clients out of trouble:

"[Every professional association] is an institution for the public service of its profession; to enlarge its membership, to improve its procedure, to increase its scope and efficiency, to strengthen its authority and its appeal to the real life of our time."

## CHAPTER XI

## TRAINING FOR CONTINUANCE IN PUBLIC AND QUASI-PUBLIC SERVICE

"I am a public officer. I am fiscal supervisor of Massachusetts. My appointment to that office was for political reasons. I know it. Everybody knows it who knows anything about it. I had no special preparation for its great duties. Now that I have the office, however, I should welcome opportunity to obtain instruction which will help me discharge my obligations fittingly."

The foregoing sentiment was expressed to the Annual Convention of Governmental Researchers in Springfield, Mass., 1916, after it had been suggested that training for entrance to public service should be supplemented by training for continuance in service.

The case so frankly stated by this Massachusetts officer is not isolated.

Lack of previous training is the rule rather than the exception for persons elected to office and appointed to leading positions. Even Mayor John Purroy Mitchel of New York, after determining that he would make appointments only for fitness, found himself after election under such pressure that according to his chamberlain, Henry Bruère, writing two years later, "appointments were deliberately made to subordinate positions from the nominees of political fusion or anti-Tammany organizations." Mayor Mitchel is used for illustration because rarely if ever had any American administrator entered upon public duties more thoroughly trained in the outlook, the theory and the specific requirements of a great post. When a product of extensive and intensive training and a believer in training yields to political expediency, we must take it for granted that less trained or untrained administrators will continue to fill positions with men not trained for them.

Nor is the training to do the work of a post the only kind of training that is needed. For the same reason that civil service examiners are recognizing personality and previous experience as well as specific preparation, it is important that a mayor's secretary or health commissioner or a president's secretary of state possess certain social qualifications even if poorly qualified for administration. As between utmost expertness in secretarial work which does not know a governor's constituency, and a generally well equipped man of pleasing personality who does know a governor's constituency, the efficient governor will do well to select the second man for secretary.

So long as there are elections, there will be election debts to pay. It is not yet generally possible to insist

upon preappointment specific preparation; it is possible to insist upon specific preparation after appointment.

For the layman to sputter against this practice is infinitely less valuable than for him to suggest a way by which previously untrained men shall secure training after appointment.

There are seven different methods of training persons for continuance in office. No distinction is made here between persons elected and persons appointed, nor is effort made to point out wherein either kind of after training is more effective than another. What should be done depends upon the particular man and the needs of his public. Each of the seven kinds of after-training here mentioned will help publics see to it that blunders of appointment or election shall do less harm each succeeding month and that the public shall not be a prey to the mental, physical or spiritual disintegration of its own employés. Examination to stay in office is vastly more important than examination to get into office.

There is a slang expression — making lemonade out of lemons — which helps describe the benefit which will result if the public will fix in its mind seven methods of after-training public servants:

- (1) The officer may go to school
- (2) The officer may improve himself by conscientious and systematic self-study

- (3) The officer may go to school by correspondence
- (4) The officer may organize or attend home conferences for comparing experience
- (5) The officer may attend conventions of workers in his special field
- (6) The officer may turn to central official agencies for criticizing and helping such as state auditors, state commissioners of health, national bureau of education, national bureau of standards, or the national bureau which compiles municipal statistics
- (7) The officer may train himself by closely and trising the satisfaction or dissatisfaction which his service gives the public in day by day service and in annual statements

Each of these seven after-training schools is briefly illustrated. The term "after-training" is used for brevity's sake and is borrowed from the public school world where it has only recently been discovered that perhaps the most important work which teacher training schools can do is to supervise and help the teacher after she secures her first position.

Sentiment in favour of after-training of public officers and employés should be made so strong that persons in official positions who do not seek after training will be regarded as delinquents and decidedly behind the times.

Going to school was tested by Ohio's first budget commissioner. When James M. Cox was elected gov-

ernor in 1912, he selected for budget commissioner a man known to him as a successful organizer of junior political leagues. The appointment was reasonably justified by the incumbent's earlier experience as bank examiner and in different kinds of private business. He had, however, and was known to have had, no knowledge whatever of budget making. Yet Governor Cox named him in spite of opposition from well informed friends who were convinced that the success of Ohio's new budget law required a commissioner trained in budget making.

In appointing the untrained man Governor Cox did what other governors will frequently do so long as popular elections are held. In taking the next step, sending the budget commissioner away for after-training, Governor Cox set an example which the public must interest other governors in taking, namely, sent him to study where the most progress had been made in framing, studying and publicly discussing budgets.

There this budget commissioner in training went into the field and helped make a New York City budget. Later he went to New Jersey and helped make a report for campaign uses on New Jersey's deficient method of making a budget. With only six weeks of field experience plus suggestions and readings prompted by field experience, he went back to Ohio and in another six weeks found for Governor Cox where more and better work could be done for one

million less than had been voted for the year 1913. Moreover, he conducted a budget school for state employés and officers. They became interested in finding possibilities of retrenchment. The legislature when called in special session was convinced by the tacts submitted, repealed the appropriation bill for 1913, took \$1,024,000 out of it, added \$60.000 for schools, and passed a new appropriation bill \$964,000 smaller.

If we call this after-training "going to school," many officers will be offended. There are still too few men who are as frank as the Massachusetts officer quoted at the beginning of this chapter. If we call it a "symposium" or a "conference" the ablest officers are glan to go and exchange experiences. To meet this situation, Professor John E. Lough of New York University worked out a plan which will eventually be widely copied: meetings are most informal; the teacher is called leader of discussion; and instead of his talking or lecturing or reading texts, he formulates important questions, states difficult practical problems and then postpones his own contribution until after the engineers or statisticians or physicians have answered each from his own experience and problems.

For policemen, firemen, nurses, many grades of inspector, and school teachers, we may call a spade a spade, a school a school, or in many instances even a probationary school. The new civil servant is admitted to service on condition that he shall attend these official schools in order to be brought quickly abreast of the many relations of his work to community welfare.

One caution the layman can help officers remember, namely, that attending a school does not of itself mean fitting one's self for the work discussed at that school. School teachers may learn all about health and still be such wretched exemplars of posture and health that they ought not be permitted to work with children. Promotion examinations for school teachers have too largely called for theoretical work which leads the minds and interests of teachers away from the classroom and makes them dislike rather than like their work as teachers.

The best substitute I know for this disserviceable kind of after-admission-training is a course given by Cleveland's College for Teachers to the city school teachers on "How to be Supervised." The idea is one which laymen can help all branches of civil service adopt: When those who are under direction and supervision know clearly what kind of help they are entitled to from their supervisors there is less likelihood that supervisors will be able to give the impression of efficiency when they are actually blunderers and parasites.

Preparation by self-study is far more extensive among public officers and employés than most citizens

have believed. If all the civil servants who are reading books and reports that deal with the difficulties of their work and with the way in which other people have met those difficulties, were to be brought to one city, there is not a university in the country large enough to take care of them, nor could our fifty largest convention halls scat them. These isolated students are subscribing to magazines, going to night schools and summer Chatauquas, zealously reading newspaper comments and criticisms.

The fact that there is vastly less of this sel tudy than there should be is all the more reason why we should give full credit where we find it. The man who is probably the most highly and definitely informed person in the United States with respect to municipal and state practices in this country and Europe never spent an hour in school studying municipal government and has given vastly more to conventions than he has learned from them. Among our congressmen are many men whose knowledge of the theory and facts of finance and administration exceeds that of the university men in their own states, yet most of this knowledge and judgment is the result of self-study.

Nor is it merely in the high places that civil servants are studying almost night and day to learn how they may better serve. Fifty civil service commissions of cities and states are benefiting yearly from the selfimposed tasks and self-blazed trails of a young woman examiner who makes a religion of learning what a civil service post permits and requires before she frames the tests which are to aid in selecting the employé.

From self-study is coming the most important public service literature of our day. The new discoveries, the helpful articles, the suggestive books, are largely the products of overtime study. While I am dictating these lines, a school teacher of civics in an adjacent room is summarizing the results of this last week's visiting and reading for a textbook on practical civics for teacher training schools; a school principal is about to report the results of a week's study of the recreation facilities provided by the New York Port for longshoremen, from which class her children come; to another principal's country cottage is being sent material from the survey of his school which he is to use in the vacation time preparation of a book on democracy in school management.

Correspondence by civil scrvants for after-training is in its infancy. It will grow very rapidly, however, if the general public will encourage employés to use this means of self-improvement and at the same time back up their state universities and departments of education when requesting funds to conduct such correspondence work.

The use of cabinet meetings or departmental con-

ferences for after-training is again a forward step which lavmen can further. In the school world such conferences are traditional, in fact so traditional that too often they have become perfunctory and are dreaded by leaders and followers alike. Attempts are now being made to vitalize them, as for example when a Western superintendent first drew out from high school teacners their innumerable criticisms of the elementary schools for failing to prepare pupils, and then helped those high school teachers see things more sympathetically and fairly by giving them,to their rude awakening - the identical test which had been successfully passed by elementary graduates! For some time to come there will be no danger of overdoing these departmental conferences in civil service fields. It is not easy to arrange them in small cities, but even there it is possible to do in all parts of the country what several small suburbs of Chicago did, namely, arrange for inter-town conferences once a month.

In larger cities and at country seats it is possible to duplicate the weekly lunch meetings of which Borough President Marcus M. Marks of Manhattan has made a great success: all men holding important positions are invited; each man pays for his own lunch; all persons are equal in that conference. Matters of consequence come up, quickly go round for individual expression of opinion or question, after which the group

as a whole is asked for further suggestion or comment and sometimes for a vote. This is training for team work and leadership, besides being excellent postgraduate work for every man in office.

The convention as after-trainer has great possibilities. Millions of dollars a year are being spent by public officers and employés sometimes at their own expense, generally at the public expense, in attending county, state and national conventions. Taxpayers must not forget that the money expense is only a small part of the true cost of these conventions. That merely represents what in the accounting field is called expenditure,— money paid out. In addition there is the cost of time spent by the delegates away from their home work and further the cost of the energy diverted from home work in preparing for and thinking about these conventions.

That a week spent by a city manager at the annual meeting of the National Association of City Managers might bring more good to his town than forty weeks spent in a university or forty times the cost of this convention week is clear when one thinks of the vast amount of definite experience of many cities which might be first reservoired and then tapped by the convention. Between what might happen and what does happen is many a slip; in fact, at last year's convention of city managers, a university professor interrupted the recital of concrete experience to chide

these searchers for specific help for not sufficiently exhibiting a philosophical grasp of the political science involved in their work!

With too few exceptions the conventions to which civil servants go are junkets and joyrides; and they are no less junkets because the beneficiaries or victims talk in elequent terms about the inspiration received, cobwebs of the mind removed, etc.

The way to make conventions effective teachers is for laymen who pay the bills to take it for granted that the officers will come back with definite, not general, benefits and then to call for a list of those specific benefits.

Central agencies for answering questions and giving instruction to civil scrvants can do much after-training for every state. As repeatedly suggested in these chapters, the layman must never forget that the government has no reason for existence except to serve. When in doubt, ask a government bureau. When it is clear that a new kind of educational work is needed by civil servants, see that government arranges to do that educational work.

Practice as well as theory justifies the claim that central bureaus are competent educators when they either take help to officers or send it through the mails.

Many state boards of education are sending out officers to meet with local school boards, to examine local schools, and to report their needs. Many states

send trained librarians to help local libraries, experienced auditors to help local bookkeepers, skilled road builders to help local engineers.

Many cities have officers who are business doctors going from one department or officer to another diagnosing difficulties, prescribing remedies, and teaching how to apply the remedies.

Our national departments have men making demonstrations in almost every field of government activity for the help of state or local officers. Notable improvements have resulted from the travelling schools of the department of agriculture.

It is an interesting development that central offices, established to compel compliance with law or to prevent waste and theft of money, quickly discover that the best compulsion is instruction and help that enable local civil servants to use best methods and thus compel them and their publics to want best methods.

Instruction by mail is a vast business among central bureaus. It is needless to pile up illustrations; the point for the reader to remember is that every state should have central bureaus of information to which every locality may apply for the latest and best methods of doing every part of public work. While too much of this correspondence is haphazard, while too many of the officers are still incompetent and unambitious, the principle of central office responsibility has been generally admitted. One of the most in-

teresting attempts to systematize this kind of help is the School Service Bureau of the Wisconsin state department of instruction. Not only does this School Service Bureau answer questions, but over and over again it advertises to thousands of teachers, thousands of school trustees and to all the women's clubs, men's organizations and editors who will read its story, that it believes citizens should ask questions about schools and that it will do its best to a swer questions even if one or more inspectors must be sent to village or city for field inspection and consultation.

General publicity about governmental affairs is the last but not the least important of the seven methods of helping civil servants continue and improve upon the efficiency for which we are beginning to look at time of appointment. Every time a public officer issues an annual report, and every time he asks for election or re-election, he is sending himself, his competitors, and his public to school. Any public that calls for official reports which describe work done and compare the quality and quantity of work done this year with the quality and quantity of work done last year, is putting its officers and their subordinates through a valuable course of training.

Plain Talk was the heading of Director Morris Llewellyn Cooke's report to the people of Philadelphia. This man of science, who is the chief expounder of scientific management, the man whom the Carnegie Foundation employed to make its report upon the teaching of physics in American colleges, did not scorn to begin his report with the photograph of a pigeon making her nest in a window-box outside his offices

"Unaffrighted by the sounds around her, Undistracted by the things she sees."

He even went so far as to say that public officers should cultivate the science of publicity or advertising in order to enable their publics to understand what they have at stake in public business and how they can protect themselves.

Civil servants must study the public mind and its needs, they must analyse their own service and that of their colleagues and subordinates in order to secure a hearing or re-election.

New York City's municipal campaign of 1917 furnishes fresh illustration. Every day there are eulogies to and criticisms of public officers and their employés. Many statements are made by, for and against officers which are untrue. Many other statements are denied although they are true. Do you feel that it is straining a point to call this process an after-training for officers in service? That it really is not straining a point is proved by a comparison of the way in which New York discusses its public affairs in 1917 with the way it discussed those affairs ten years earlier. Where one person formerly asked definite

questions there are fifty persons today asking definite questions; where formerly adjectives and epithets showed up an opposition today's criticisms hold attention by their concrete testable facts; where formerly disputants promised anything and everything which sounded eloquent and appealing, today they are listing specific criticisms which can quickly be tested and are making specific pledges which cannot easily be evaded.

Wherever any public asks no questions or vague questions, it becomes the victim of political channery and invites sweeping promises that candidates have no intention of keeping. Wherever newspapers or individual citizens tell the general public what annual reports contain and what they omit, where they are true and where untrue, where they show progress and where they show time scrving and extravagance, citizens will find their civil servants in constant attendance upon one of the best of all known training schools, i.e., enlightened public opinion.

To secure for one's own community an aggressive training school of this sort one of the best steps is to organize — preferably in the city government, but if necessary in a merchants' association as in Minneapolis, or in a woman's club — a help-your-city-complaint-and-question-and-suggestion-box which will not wait for annual reports or for elections, but will secure prompt use of every citizen's knowledge about

a political step needed. One can speak confidently about the effectiveness of such a question box because private business frankly admits that the best teacher any store or manufacturing concern can find is the public which it serves. Just as training customers to buy competently teaches those who serve, so well trained citizens who applaud, criticize and vote discriminately will teach civil servants how to serve.

Each reader will profitably establish a home question box beginning with questions as to which of the seven methods of after-training for civil servants is or are at work in the governmental departments with which the reader has most to do

One final opportunity to help train civil servants after appointment should be urged upon readers: instead of encouraging public employés to think of civil service as a vested right to be maintained even against the public's interest, our preparedness for the future may require us to limit the number of years that any one will be permitted to work for any governmental unit in any one post or rank of service.

When one stops to think of it, there is really much less reason for changing a president every eight years than for changing a police chief or city engineer or head bookkeeper or university president oftener than either death or promotion of the incumbent.

In other words, the idea of permanent tenure for governmental employés must be qualified by the requirement that any government employé who cannot and does not earn his way out of a group on promotion examinations and on proof of efficiency must be dropped from the service and thus make room for some one else either more able or more ambitious. Woods Hutchinson says that the only fresh air is air that makes us feel fresh. It is just as true that the only efficient civil servant is the one who makes it easy for other civil servants and for the public to be efficient. Only moving air makes us feel fresh. Moving civil servants will keep civil service fresh.

When we have provided means of telling the public the truth about each civil servant's work, the public's scrutiny and preparation for scrutiny will become in effect a civil service examination for the privilege of continuing in office.

When much surprise was expressed because President E. F. Nichols resigned the presidency of Dartmouth College, he said that in his seven years he had already made his contribution to Dartmouth and believed that in the next seven years another man could make a greater contribution than could he by remaining. The Efficiency Commission of Illinois advised three years as the maximum term for deans and administrative officers of the University of Illinois. After we have once begun to think generally of civil service as a training ground and as part of our national program for preparedness, the "keep moving"

command will be accepted as a kindness where under the old spoils system it was known to be spoils.

Governments should take the lead in curing individuals of the love for ruts, dread of change, and contempt for the-man-who-pays; they are attributes of a civilization incompatible with that free circulation of knowledge about opportunities which characterizes our time.

## CHAPTER XII

## SPECIALIZED TRAINING FOR PARENTHOOD

Attempts to train parents have been successful beyond all anticipation. So far, however, as such attempts have been organized on a large scale they have been limited chiefly to training parents of the poor in the science and art of conserving baby health. Even the well-to-do and the over rich have learned their lessons after successful wholesale demonstrations in training tenement mothers how to keep their babies The most ignorant and the most careless mothers conceivable have been brought together in milk stations or infant stations of great cities like Paris, London, Chicago and New York, and have been given information so dramatically, so interestingly, and so convincingly, that they have learned to care for their own babies better than highly educated mothers who lacked such special training.

The first step in specialized training for parenthood is to make sure that every school child of both sexes, every prospective parent, and every actual parent shall know three facts about infant life:

- (1) There are easy-to-learn truths and easy-to-take steps which make it inexcusable that any baby in the United States shall die from so-called infantile diseases.
- (2) It is not enough to keep a baby alive; it must be kept well, which mothers and nurses can train themselves to do.
- (3) It is not enough that babies shall be kept alive or that children shall be kept well; they must be made worth while, for which responsibility fathers as well as mothers must be trained.

How to give training in the elements of physical care for babies — pre-natal care by the mother, sanitary environment, hygienic daily attention, clean milk, clean air and clean babies — has been shown over and over again. Duties of mothers and nurses have become standardized. Minimum essentials it is easy to obtain from our National Children's Bureau and from many state or city departments of health.

Not the least among rescuers and teachers are the great insurance companies which are giving house to house instruction by word of mouth, book and bed-side nursing, except in one or two states which still make the great mistake of prohibiting companies to insure infants.

Likewise, the manufacturers and retail stores have done much to educate parents in new ideas and practices: thousands of lives have been saved and vitality incalculably increased as the result of the money making motive which has advertised washable clothes, short and thin underwear in union suits, one-piece children's suits, and convenient but inexpensive layettes.

Simple instruction, lectures, milk station reports, laboratory tests, moving picture film illustrations are now made part of the course of study in colleges, high schools, and many elementary schools in city and country.

In great cities where congestion, ignorance and poverty formerly levied their heaviest toll, it has become safer for a baby to be born in the largest city, unidst crowded surroundings, than to be born in country districts or on farms where nature has done her best to provide a safe welcome. The city mother who does not yet know how to care for her baby and herself can find an infant milk station, a physician and a nurse and eager mothers asking questions, just around the If she is so uninformed or even so indifferent that she has not yet realized what the milk station can do for herself and her baby, or so obstinate or prejudiced or lazy that she is unwilling to walk around to the milk station, the nurses and physicians come to her and they come not once and not twice, but they keep coming until they have opened her heart and eyes to her baby's need and her own possibilities.

To reduce the number of mothers who begin too late their special training for parenthood, cities are beginning to provide such training not only in high schools, but in elementary grades. Lessons in the hygiene of baby care are supplemented by actual observation of the routine of such care and in the actual giving of the care itself, such as weighing babies, comparing this week's progress with last week's progress, bathing them, dressing them, analysing and preparing their food, putting them to sleep, etc.

Unfortunately similar training for children in rural districts lags behind city training for the reason that we have only just begun to see how neglectful we have been of rural conditions. Of course it will always be hard to bring rural mothers together. Our awakening has been hastened by war-distress discoveries such as that the ability of European neutrals to live and remain neutral and the ability of European and American combatants to keep on fighting each for his conception of liberty, depends less upon the American banker than upon the American farmer. We are all seeing now what only a few educators saw before the war, that we cannot permit those conditions and practices to continue which Mr. Dooley characterized when he said: "Hinnesy says he wants to go to the country where all the good things come from, and I says to Hinnesy, 'I'm for the city where all the good things come to." Among the many revolutions taking place in rural life and rural education is the introduction of everyday practical instruction in guaranteeing baby health through a healthy and informed mother, a safe and wholesome environment, clean air and clean food.

There are seven other fields in which training is now being given that directly fits for parenthood.

- (1) Household arts
- (2) Household accounts and family budget making
- (3) Physical training
- (4) Recreation
- (5) Character analysis
- (6) Sex health
- (7) Manners

There is nothing about the work in any one of these fields which need be "over the heads" of any parents. They are all included here as minimum essentials for the efficient citizen. Shall we regard even domestic science as indispensable for boys and men? To know and feel that a practical knowledge of domestic science is among the minimum essentials for women and girls should be indispensable for men and boys. The elements of the other subjects are just as indispensable for boys as for girls. Mrs. Ella Flagg Young insists that boys should learn to cook even if we must call the course "camp cookery" in order to make it seem masculine.

Household arts, as taught quite generally now in schools, includes cooking and other housekeeping, dressmaking, millinery and the physical care of the

housekeeper. To make this instruction real, many devices are adopted. Country schools serve lunches to he eaten, not dabbed at. In several states there are teacherages or teachers' homes attached to the rural school for purposes that include instruction in domestic science, gardening, homemaking. City schools have model flats which different groups of girls in succession take care of for a week or a fortnight, and where they cook real meals, really scrub real floors, repaper real walls with real paper of their own selection, decorate real walls with real pictures they have made or bought, and give real entertainments to real, invited guests. Expense must be kept within the limit which the families of the neighbourhood can afford. Nor is this instruction just play; on the contrary, in cooking and sewing and in housekeeping there are long lists of definite tasks which each girl must do satisfactorily before she is marked passed in each particular accomplishment. As you will see from the accompanying cards, sewing is not just sewing, but is one and all of thirty-two minimum essential factors in knowing how to sew. Practical homemaking is not just keeping house, but is success in taking more than forty separate steps.

For bringing home and school closer together, and for enhancing the dignity of homework, this practical instruction in domestic science deserves high rank among trainers for parenthood. Schools are beW

### Sewing

### First Year

# Minimum essentials-checked when done proficiently

Practice in turning Lenis Basting stitch Running stitch Rack Combination Hemming Overcasting Overhanding " Catch stitch French fell Flat fell Sewing on buttons Buttonholes Threading machine Running Care of Small samples on machine One full sized garment

#### Second Year

Hem patch
Catch-stitch patch
Stocking darn
Dress darn
Sewing on hooks and cyes
Chain stitch
Feather stitch
Smocking
Tucks
Scalloped edge
Simple embroidery stitches
How to cut a true bias
How to use a pattern
One full sized garment

## Practica! Homemaking

### First Year

# Minimum essentials—checked when done proficiently

Introductory lesson Care of stove Dishwashing (care of kitchen utensils) Washing of towels and cleaning Liciha Scrubbing of bare wood Cleaning of garbage can Cleaning of bed Making of bed Morning cleaning of a room Thorough cleaning of a room a) washing windows; b) cleaning c brass, silver and nickel; c) waxing of floor; d) washing of floor Closet c'aning (windowbex clean-Table setting (table etique te) Preparation and serving of break-Preparation and serving of lunch-Jon. Plumbing lesson (tenement house laws) a) cleaning of sink; b) cleaning of bathtub; c) cleaning of water closet; d) cleaning of washtub Disposal of garbage, ashes and refuse (tenement house laws) Personal hygiene

#### Second Year

Laundry equipment (utensils and materials)
Removal of stains
Laundry washing
a) bed, table and body linen; b)
colored clothes; c) underclothes; d) towels; e) waists and dresses
Making of starch
Food value (combination of food)
Making of daily menus
Weights and measures and
equivalents
Care of patient in bed (bathing)
Changing linen with patient in bed
Diet in disease (preparation of invalid's tray)
Care of infants (clothing and
bathing)
Infant feeding
Food for children 1 to 5 years

Elements of Efficiency in Household Arts

ginning to encourage children to bring supplies in large enough quantities so that food for home meals and clothes for home use can be made. This quickly vitalizes the work of teacher, parent and pupil.

In Cleveland, Ohio, it is not unusual to see high school girls in their private automobiles going to private homes where for pay on a strictly business basis they prepare and serve a meal, perhaps for the family only, or perhaps for family and guests. It long since ceased to be a novelty for school classes in cooking to take charge of school lunch rooms, and while learning to cook, to manage a considerable cafeteria business so as to pay all expenses and now and then to make a profit.

Every citizen, in country as well as in city, should want this work done, should know that it is being done quite generally, that it is practical everywhere, that it adds to children's interest in and benefit from other school subjects, and "elevates homemaking from drudgery to dignity" in the eyes of children and parents alike.

Household accounts and home budget making! What part, pray, can they play in specialized training for parenthood? I am not prepared to say that no one can be an efficient parent who does not know where the money goes and who does not plan in advance how the family income shall be distributed. I do feel safe

in asserting that other things being equal, the mother who records and budgets her income and expenses will use her affection, her vision, and her energy more economically and more idealistically than if she tries to get along without the aid of household accounts and family budgets.

Some years ago an able woman teacher of women, Mrs. Ellen Richards, wrote a book entitled. The Cost of Living, in which she showed that nearly one-half of all family incomes is wasted. This is an extreme assertion. It may be that only one-for h, instead of one-half, is wasted. The point for the efficient citizen to reflect upon is that by and large we do not make our incomes buy for us anything like the comforts and luxuries which they would buy if we planned and spent more wisely.

Over fifty million bushels of wheat — ten bushels for every man, woman and child in New York City — is as stale bread fed every year to chickens! Why? Because homekeepers will accept from bread dealers none but fresh bread just out of the oven. In order to have fresh bread at each meal, parents buy bread many times a day instead of buying a day's supply in advance. When bread is bought in small quantities, in fewer loaves, smaller loaves, and in rolls, it costs more. Then the habit of using only fresh bread means that a slight miscalculation, due to sickness or

Specialized Training for Parenthood - 9b.

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	Rent	Service	!	•	Food	Home		recreation vacation	ition tion	Doctor	Taxes	
) fit heeds]	fuel light	pressing	Phone	Cartare	ice	and furniture	Clotnes	family	friends	medicine		Savings
Day of month												
1					-							
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Total												
expenditure												
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budget												
T.O. Malice												
Differences							-	-				
Average food cost per person including servants and guests.	per [	erson incl	uding s	ervants a	nd gu	ests		-per me	mber	per member of family-		

absence of breadeaters, causes the homekeeper to throw this stale bread into the garbage can in spite of its wholesomeness and palatability.

War dangers have compelled and enabled us to see the significance of bread waste. But there are many other household wastes equally as important. The difference between prompt darning of stockings and tardy darning is a pair of stockings. The housewife who is capable with the needle and prompt and tasteful in her mending and repairing can with the proverbial stitch in time that saves nine first reduce the sist of clothes, second improve their appearance, and third prolong their life. Similar homely illustrations will occur to the reader in the use of gasolene or coal for heating, in the use of family lights, in the use of labour. No one but the family which keeps a record of where its money goes can easily enough look for, detect and stop the leakages or easily enough plan next year's expenditures so that this year's mistakes will not be repeated.

A simple method of keeping account of money spent is included herewith; it has been used fifteen years in one family. Young children trained to analyse in this way the sources and uses of income will by second nature find it easy and natural to weigh innumerable other alternatives for use of family time and family opportunity. This thinking and planning ahead and together is a basic factor in successful parenthood.

Home budgeting differs from home accounting in that our accounts are records of money which we have already spent and show for what purposes and at what times it was spent. A budget is a program for spending which should also be a program for saving. It is a plan made at the beginning of the year for guiding the family in the use of its income.

For example, if for an income of \$2500 it is felt that 22 per cent. is the maximum which can be paid for food, 20 per cent. the maximum which can be paid for shelter, and 14 per cent. the maximum that can be paid for clothing, these limits must be kept in mind when deciding what to buy for next Sunday's dinner, how much to pay for rent and how much to pay for new clothes.

Only a very small percentage of families actually use the budget method except in a very rough way. Yet without knowing just how they reach these conclusions families have learned that they cannot pay more than \$18 a month or \$1800 a month for rent and still have enough left to buy the other things which they know they will want. Even if a person knows that he will be extravagant when opportunity arises, a budget or money spending plan will help him see at what point he ought to retrench in order to make up for his extravagance.

No family budget is helpful enough or complete enough which does not provide for two or three kinds

of expenditure which are not found in most printed budget suggestions. Without an exception every family needs to set aside money every year for visits to the dentist. Moreover while each of us ought to de everything we know how to make visits to a physician unnecessary, no family has the right to plan a spending program for the year which reserves nothing for sickness, or for visits to a Christian Science healer. Another helpful account which ought also to be considered in the family budget is entertainment. Very few families go through a year without receiving hospitality and without extending it. For want of records to show how large this item is and for want of a budget plan in advance to see how much can be afforded for this purpose and recreation, many families are constantly spending what they cannot afford for entertainment and then having to go without other necessities of life.

Any one who has the habit of putting down the purpose for which family funds are spent and the other habit of considering a year's or half year's requirements in advance and determining how much of one's spending power shall be devoted to each purpose, has learned lessons of the greatest importance to public service.

Proper physical training for the individual is a high type of specialized training for parenthood. In the first place, it is vastly easier for the physically normal and vital person to have normal, wholesome, patriotic ideals of parenthood. To state the same thought in a different way, it is extremely difficult, and oftentimes impossible, for persons who are not physically sound and physically possessed of the joy of living to think of parenthood in a way that for child or parent or country is good. Between the two extremes of bounding physical vitality and physical weakness, sickness or lassitude are many stages and kinds of physical unpreparedness, many of which obviously affect parenthood.

It must be admitted that physical soundness is but a beginning. A man may be physically sound and still want to be a prize fighter or burglar or swindler or usurer or other self-centred, anti-social person. A woman may be physically sound and yet deliberately choose a path that can mean only wretchedness for herself and all who know her. If science and history have proved anything, however, it is that the chances are that the right attitude toward one's neighbour and one's home is far easier to maintain when one is physically sound than when one is not physically sound.

These days physical training includes many other things beside just healthfulness or soundness. A person may be sound physically and still walk awkwardly, look with a shifty eye, sit with stooped shoulders, or dislike the very thought of parenthood. In addition

to soundness, physical training aims to give physical grace, joy in physical cleanliness, and zest for outdoor air and for physical exercise.

Tremendous headway has been made during the last decade in universalizing physical training for school children. Teaching children how to live has been supplemented by having children live the way they ought to live in school, on the playground and at home. Keeping home windows open at night, brushing teeth at home, participating in school games, are all part of the modern school's method of physical traing. What the minimum essentials for physical training at school are can be learned from any state department of education or from the National Bureau of Education. The individual reader has done his part when he finds out whether his local school is giving this minimum of instruction, and when he co-operates with school and neighbours to see that all children receive and practise such instruction. The suggestions from High Spots in New York Schools, on pages 72 and 73. will suggest helpful questions that may be asked about any public, parochial and private schools.

Whatever is not accomplished through physical training before children leave school will generally be accomplished only through recreation. Few adults will take up physical training for its own sake or even for clearly understood advantages to possible children. Few communities are yet organized so that adults can

take physical exercise or physical training in any form at such times and in such instalments as are reasonably easy and agregable. That is another reason for extending and emphasizing public facilities for recreation.

Recreation plays such an important rôle in training for parenthood that it is almost more important than all the other elements combined. Here again, schools have made enormous strides in helping the country provide this specialized training for parenthood. Again also, it is necessary to add to the reasons heretofore urged for recreation the special reason that upon parents' recreation depends largely children's preparation for citizenship. Today it is not necessary to talk eternally about the advantages which we as adults enjoy because when children we had training in recreation. In order to get money enough, however, to equip our schools and cities and country districts for proper and adequate recreation, and in order to secure the moral backing for the kind of public supervision over recreation that is needed, it is necessary to see the future family bearings of today's recreation.

The term recreation as we are now using it is far broader than physical exercise or games. It refers to the numberless activities and interests which Dr. Richard C. Cabot calls "re-creation," which some of us call rest, others call fun, and others are satisfied to call change. In the disposal of that part of our

energies and interests that parents do not need for routine duties of earning a living and keeping house, there is dire need for specialized instruction. It is because we cannot safely wait until parenthood is imminent for the beginnings of this instruction that it is important to keep the need for it in mind when training children and youth.

No good will result from blaming parents for not doing what they have never seen the importance of doing before they actually become parents. It is not so much what parents do which determines the success of their parenthood as what they are. If a girl nas not learned to enjoy reading before she becomes a mother, she will seldom come to enjoy reading after she has become a mother and during the trying months of preparation for motherhood. Yet any mother who does not enjoy reading and who does not do it so well that it becomes infectious in her family will fall far short in service to her children. The young married woman whose published diary stated that the ideal week for a married couple included "two nights at bridge, one at dances, one at the theatre," had never learned to associate reading and thinking with entertainment or to find recreation in the beautiful everyday things, the tradesman's friendliness, the editor's poetry, the neighbour's pansy bed, the street cleaner's pride in his work, a child's eager love, one's own task well done. Any man who has not at the time of becoming a father acquired habits of punctuality, frugality, self-control, consideration, providence, and team spirit in recreation, will teldom acquire these habits even under the social and financial pressure incident to parenthood.

For the greater part of prepared humanity reading will always be the chief form of recreation. In no other way can we obtain so many pleasurable sensations from the odds and ends of time which most of us can give to recreation. The very men and women who now feel so dependent upon card playing, dances, moving pictures and restaurants that have music, dramatics and dancing, are often only victims of bad training which did not include the important feature of enjoying books and reading aloud. It is not having been taught the enjoyments of reading rather than passion for cheap excitement that led a stenographer to say to me once, "A girl can't work all the time. . . . I rarely go out more than two or three times a week, besides Saturday and Sunday."

This is a more important habit for parents to acquire than another habit which is being overdone in advice to parents, namely, that of "chumming" with their children. No matter what parents do, children will not, if they think straight, fail to distinguish between their own maturity and that of their parents. It is infinitely better for parents to give children a demonstration of enjoying books and pleasures suit-

able to parents' ages than to try to fool either themselves or their children by pretending to enjoy pleasures that are peculiar to children. Fortunately there are many pleasures just as suitable to grandparents and parents as to children. Among them are reading and conversation, two arts essential to efficient parenthood, which are however dependent for their success upon home training and school training long before the age of parenthood.

Character analysis is listed among the minimum essential requirements of parentho d because a great part of family unhappiness is due to the failure of parents to think of character as a bundle of distinct craits that need to be separately studied rather than as an unchangea'd composite. Prospective parents need training in character analysis during their school days when selecting friends in life and in books, when listening to teachers, and when wondering about their own difficulties and successes. Later they need training in character analysis when listening to one another's pians, promises, requests and petitions for the future before becoming parents. Finally after they are parents, they desperately and continuously need the habit of breaking up children's character into the elements of which it is made.

What is becoming an everyday practice among school teachers can easily become an everyday practice among parents. It is possible for parents as well

as teachers to treat children's disobedience, not by punishing the children, and ignoring the causes of the disobedience, but by asking what causes the disobedience. In one case the answer will be misunderstanding; in another case the child does not hear; in another case the parent has invited the disobedience by her own previous conduct toward the child. Whether the cause is lack of understanding, failure to hear, or parental mistake, makes all the difference in the world in how the child's difficulty is to be cured.

Few parents are willing to regulate their daily relations with their children by scientific rules of character analysis. Few readers of this chapter will want to copy the personality chart here reproduced. Many other parents, however, by looking this chart over will see how their dealings with children and with one another will be very much helped if they will stop to ask to which of several possible causes tomorrow's difficulties of discipline or instruction or of team work are due.

In the field of sex health the impossible has happened; schools and colleges are finding how to teach the essential laws of sex health without giving offence or fostering sex morbidness. There will always be question in the minds of parents as to the advisability of trying to teach in mixed classes those aspects of sex hygiene which have to do with sex morbidity, sex evil, and sex disease. Experience shows however

Teacher Personality To help supervisors help where help is most needed To help teachers and supervisors locate their own strong and weak characteristics

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that positive health sides of sex hygiene can be discussed in mixed audiences and in mixed classes. Where possible, schools prefer to give instruction to sexes separately because the two sexes are different in their susceptibility to illustration. High schools have their women preceptresses or monitors or chaperons or advisers or deans. Physical directors are finding it easy to impart whatever knowledge is needed in connection with physical training.

What parents need most is not a method of teaching facts of sex hygiene to children but parental character and social habits which children will want to imitate. Parents who do not understand other matters than sex cannot make much headway trying to talk about sex with their children. Young people who lack training for group enjoyment, for wholesale amusement, for physical soundness, for the team work of family co-operation offer little toward family happiness if they merely offer conventional training in sex.

No book training or lecture training in sex health can possibly be so efficacious as social training in having a good time with wholesome decent happy people. That is another reason for accentuating the importance of training parents for recreation. Because a great part of recreation during certain periods of the year is in the water or on the water, on or about the ballfield or tennis ground, or perhaps even around a

card table or dancing floor, it is important that young people of both sexes and an ages be trained in the art of helping friends and associates have a good time. Because a great part of the world must start in this program under conditions where there is too little opportunity for developing personal relations after or before or between working hours, because too many of us still work without vacations and work so hard by day that we can only sleep at night, or work so hard by night that we can only sleep by day, it is indispensable that we all be trained to find recreation and training in normal sex relations in the course of our regular employment. Conversational ability when it is confined to the parlour and parlour occasions neither gives nor gains much happiness. The play spirit that is limited to leisure hours is but a half grown play spirit. Many parents affect their children more by the way they work than by the way they play; therefore, the importance of training parents to be examples to children in the spirit of working.

Manners is a word that means many different things to different people. One would hesitate to count manners among the minimum essentials needed in specialized training for parenthood had not so keen an observer as Dr. Richard C. Cabot declared unequivocally that in personal relations, that is in manners and affection, we Americans are bunglers. We bungle, not merely in our actions, but in our feelings. If we

bungled only in the more formal personal relations, it would not be so serious, but we bungle in the infinite number of little feelings which form the solid foundations, steel girders and stone walls of our character. That it is not our fault, or that it can all be easily accounted for, is less significant and less helpful to us than to realize our lack and to set about correcting it. Certain it is that any young people who have not developed manners and habits of thoughtfulness, patience, consideration, fundamental kindness, before they become parents will seldom develop them afterwards. If they are ever to have them, and they must, we all of us must be thinking of these minimum essentials years before, while boys and girls are growing up.

Making an art of personal relations was one of the main duties and attractions of the old time seminary for girls and select private schools for boys. Convent teachers have always regarded the arts of homemaking and of personal conduct more important than the three R's or academic embellishments. Until recently our small colleges prided themselves upon the training they were giving in personal relations. Of late there has been a tendency among the private schools and colleges to subordinate personal relations to society manners and the brusqueness of athletic field and magazine slang. From another direction as if in self-defence, has started a conservation movement which

### Automatic Good Manners

- Automatic courtesy: toward elders and visitors is taught defectives—and non-detectives too
- To the "stranger within the school": pupils hold themselves respon ible for help and courtesy
- Social functions: initiated clubs for learning polite usage and behavior, as at afternoon teas in model flats, receptions to alumnae twice a year
- Above college men and women: in social opportunity and attainment, in politeness and automatic "good form"—pupils of several elementary and high schools
- Good Manners Club. in congested district. At close of regular school day, with practically all girls (no boys in this class) remaining in their seats one girl went to desk and called to order the Good Manners Club. Secretary read minutes of last regular meeting, revealing fact that 'chivalry' had been topic discussed. After a slight correction of minutes, program of the day went forward. "The way you eat, speak, etc., is part of your manners, so everybody has some kind of manners"—one girl's definition. Another girl e merated kinds of bad manners:

pig manners bear " donkey " cow-in-the-parlor manners rooster manners interrupter"

Several girls designed and illustrated each variety. Chairman announced that the subject for next week would be how to use one's voice. Adjourned.

aims to give training from the early kindergarten days through the high school in ethics as expressed through personal relations. The accompanying poster and "high spots" show New York City's beginnings. California's commissioner of education for elementary schools has issued a pamphlet on manners which is a syllabus of instruction for a several years' course of training in personal relations. It is illustrated by story and by photograph. It is addressed to pupils, teachers and county superintendents. Will every state follow California's example by ranking the habit of courtesy among the minimum essentials which public school training will require and guarantee?

Two stories told to California's children of country and city show how manners and patriotism have a fundamental cousinship:

A foreign minister once observed Thomas Jefferson lift his hat in response to an old negro who had bowed to him as he passed. "I am surprised, Mr. President," said the minister, "that you take off your hat to a slave." "Why," replied Jefferson, "I would not like to have a slave more polite than I am."

An American sailor landing in England shortly after the close of the war of the Revolution, took a first-class seat in a stage coach, but was told to get out, as such seats were reserved for gentlemen. "I am a gentleman," said the sailor. "Who made gentlemen out of fellows like you?" asked the coach guard. "George Washington," said the sailor; and he kept his seat.



Wadleigh High School Girls

By that human perversity which so often reflects a demand of nature we find training in personal relations in the schools of congested poverty stricken districts at the very time when high priced, presumably select private schools are relaxing their interest in such training. On pages 47, 226 and 227 are printed three exhibits from High Stots in New York Schools which illustrate what is meant in this chapter by training in manners for parenthood. I recently saw this same training democratically at work in the schools at Mt. Vernon and, I am glad to say, in a course alled civics. They were seventh grade children. They came from homes of different incomes. Instead of discussing the three branches of our government, executive, legislative and administrative, instead of describing the electoral college, the difference between township and county units of government, these children were having civics via class discussion of manners.

The teacher had written several questions on the board, which the children had copied in their books for later comment; they were now orally exchanging views and experiences. I asked how many liked that study; all raised their hands. When asked how many liked it better than geography or arithmetic, almost all again raised their hands. When asked why, they said that it gave them so much to talk about in class and to think about after class. When asked if their

mothers liked this course, almost all nodded their heads. When asked for proof that this course had actually changed their habits, they gave quickly one illustration after another. A little girl who looked as if she was born with a manner book in her mouth said that before she had had this course she had always run to meals; now she waits for her elders to go first. A big boy stopped drinking soup from the end of his spoon because in sound and look it was unpleasant to other people. They accounted for their responsiveness to suggestions in class and their former unresponsiveness to their parents' instruction by saying that when they talk over these things in class among children of their own age, they somehow gain a feeling for proper personal relations and polite conduct which they cannot gain when told as a matter of advice or discipline by their parents.

The fundamental idea of the manysided specialized training for parenthood which is here suggested is that parents must possess before they can impart. They must represent the conservation of qualities before they can conserve qualities in children. If they lack conversational ability, they will find it almost impossible to do their part in developing children's conversational ability. Such character deficiencies as they exhibit to their children, they will find it difficult to correct in children, except as those deficiencies are so glaring as to exert an inhibiting, repelling influence.

If they never play, if they are not seen at wholesome recreation, their influence will not foster instinct of play and wholesome recreation within their children. If they have never learned to enjoy good reading, their advice to their children about good reading will be of little avail. If they neglect to write letters of thanks or appreciation when they have received courtesies or presents, their advising or nagging children to make proper acknowledgments will be ineffective.

In all thinking, however, about preliminary training of parents, we must draw a line between those who had opportunities and neglected them, and others whose deficiencies are due to never having had opportunities. The existence of this line accounts for the astounding teachability of the immigrant and of others who have suffered deprivation. Where starvation is there also we generally find appetite. It cannot therefore be assumed that because a mother or a father has here-tofore neglected the duties of parenthood he or she has deliberately closed mind and heart to those opportunities. In every community it remains worth while to state over and over again clearly from pulpit, school platform, and editorial page the minimum standards of preparation and conduct for the American parent.

### CHAPTER XIII

### TRAINING OF THE SPECIALLY GIFTED

Civilization is conserved by similarities; it progresses by differences. It is equality of opportunity, not identity of opportunity or of possession which Democracy seeks. The main purpose of Democracy is to establish a minimum of training for citizenship and service which no citizen shall lack who is mentally capable of such training; then to encourage as many differences as possible beyond and above that minimum; to fix a new and higher minimum; encourage new departures beyond and above the newest minimum; set a new stake; call a new marathon of effort; and so on, ad infinitum.

Military conscription has helped because it has dramatically recognized differences of capacity within equality of obligation and of honour. Without disparagement, we are recognizing differences between married men and unmarried men, among married men, among unmarried men. More frankly than ever before we are abolishing some differences between men and women, while at the same time with women's con-

sent we are grawing more rigidly than ever before certain other lines between women and men.

By limiting our first conscription to unmarried men, we are recognizing that whether a man is married or not, and whether or not he is a parent, makes several differences in his relation to society in his ability to serve without hurting society, and in society's right to accept his service. Among unmarried men we have again recognized the differences between those who have persons dependent upon them and those who have not. Numerous other lines are being drawn. The single man on the farm is told that he can serve best by growing food. The single man in industry is told that keeping our armies and allies supplied with munitions and our industrial armies supplied with the minimum essentials of their activity is just as high a form of patriotism and is just as essential to efficient military service as is carrying a gun in the field. In distributing tasks among conscripted men we have profited from the early mistakes of European nations by recognizing the important differences in the load that can be carried by engineers, carpenters, doctors, lawyers, clerks, musicians, telegraphers.

Recognition of special gifts has thus official and patriotic sanction. Throughout our early war preparations we have been insisting that differences are in special aptitudes or in immediate preparedness, and not in worth or in patriotism. Moreover, we have

recognized that no one needs training more than do the specially gifted; our very first military camps were for surgeons and officers. "Every man to his last" is the principle employed.

Equal opportunity for every man to discover his last and the obligation of every man to find his place and his responsibility according to his last, are two companion principles which must include the specially gifted as well as the normally and sub-normally gifted. "What we know we owe"—what we own we owe, what we can we owe, and we owe it too in proportion to our special ability.

In peace times special gifts are recognized in many different ways, but seldom, as yet, in our training for citizenship. Often special gifts, for want of development and understanding are actual disqualifications. A special gift for music in small towns is apt to be a handicap which interferes with school work and wage earning without producing recognizable benefits; so, too, the person who has a special gift for drawing is apt to be considered a misfit in the country; there are certain gifts of temperament which fit badly into the systematic routine of business or housekeeping.

Schools are trying as never before to detect special aptitudes or gifts and to help boys and girls develop along the lines of their major capacities and dominant interests. But it is not of this vocational guidance that the present chapter treats. We are interested

rather in the training of the specially gifted, not for the development of their gifts but for the use of their gifts for citizenship and public service. Except for one or two illustrations of ways in which the world is now undertaking to discover and develop special gifts, we shall confine our discussion to ways in which those who possess special gifts of whatever kind, may be led to recognize a special and commensurate obligation to use those gifts in the public interest.

Offering prizes is one of the world's devices for uncovering special ability. While true that the purpose of most prizes is to stimulate special effort by those who are not specially gifted, it is also true that special aptitude is widely encouraged by prize offers, simple and rich, from the country fair prize for the best pig raised by a school child to the Nobel Peace Prize.

A notable plan for discovering individuals who have a liking for art is quietly at work in Philadelphia. It is called the Graphic Sketch Club which now has nearly four hundred members. It started years ago when a young manufacturer overheard some small boys in a congested district discussing a wretched chromo land-scape that was displayed in a notion shop. One street urchin was awed by the fact that the road looked as if you could walk miles and miles down it. Another was surprised that the artist kept on painting in such a storm. For days this picture obsessed Mr. Samuel S.

Fleischer: those boys were impressed; they liked it; they studied it; they wanted to imitate it; they did not want to break windows or play sneak thief when under its spell. Could it be that art has a universal appeal and that these crowded districts need art and beauty more than they need even higher wages, or need it as an incentive to earning and demanding higher wages?

Self-questioning led with Mr. Fleischer as it should with all of us, to activity. He found half a dozen boys who seemed to want to draw; he started a club whose story has a thousand messages for American education. A score of these boys have been sent to Rome and Paris by the Philadelphia Academy of Art. Among them are today many of Philadelphia's foremost artists. Teachers, social workers, ministers have a standing invitation to call special artistic ability or special sensitiveness to art to the Sketch Club.

But it is not the discovery of artistic ability which has given the founder most satisfaction. Instead, it is the proof which he believes is being lived by these hundreds of Graphic Sketch Club Members that through a special liking for art strongly balanced character and love of the beautiful in life as well as the beautiful in art can be generated. The making of men and women through their art is deemed more important than the making of artists.

Without cost to the prospective artist and to the

men and women to be a museum of choice works of art is maintained for instruction and incentive. Skilled and devoted teachers are also furnished. The government of the club, including the protection of the museum, is entirely by the students themselves; yet not one dollar's worth of pottery or paintings or tapestry or sculpture has ever been lost or even injured. A similar method of dedicating and training special gifts and of building character and citizenship on special gifts is practicable in all cities.

Why should not state school systems everywhere do the same for special literary promise and for any other special aptitudes? Our schools are in a strategic position for detecting ability that is above the average. With the exception of a few states where compulsory attendance laws have not yet been adopted, 100% of our children must go to school; gradually the maximum age is being raised until in Wisconsin, for example, every one under seventeen and over five must be either in full time schools or in daytime continuation schools which must be attended by children between the ages of fourteen and seventeen who are employed in stores or shops. There is no excuse for our large army of 600,000 school teachers (and school committees of women's clubs) failing to encourage, and least of all is there excuse for their failing to discover, special aptitudes or gifts along art lines. So rapidly is equipment for manual training being introduced into urban and rural schools that we may soon say there is no excuse for failing to discover special aptitude with the hands.

Progress is the more rapid since it has been found educationally sound and advisable to give children credit at school for work done out of school or in school along both manual and artistic lines, music, drawing, gardening and homemaking.

One reason why special ability has not been more widely encouraged is that we have not been looking for it. Those of us who have lacked special gifts will naturally not worry about finding them in others until we appreciate the public's need for individual gifts. Before incomes were taxed neither the government nor the public had special interest in private incomes. After incomes were made taxable it became the business of numerous tax officers to search far and near with telescope and microscope to prevent the hiding of any taxable income. So fast as we decide that special gifts are public trusts, we shall set innumerable agencies to searching by-ways for these special gifts.

A second reason why much special ability never comes to the surface is that our method of teaching too often causes possessors to shrink from confessing to others or to themselves that they have special liking or capacity. Love of music is inhibited by instruction in the mechanics of music, the teaching and drawing

of scales and clers to the exclusion of singing and playing. Love of drawing and modelling is chilled by the futile, pottering, mechanical, unimaginative uniformity with which teachers of art too often inflict their children. Who is at fault is not the question. It may be the teacher, it may be the printed course of study, or the super isor who lacks imagination necessary to look for individuality and perhaps the sympathetic understanding that is essential to encourage children. With neglect and miseducation that are little short of criminal, the love of teaching, the art of arts, is changed to perfunctory compliance or resentful loathing of requirements which put a premium upon mechanical uniformity.

What can we expect of teachers trained in this way except for them to degenerate into taking the children through the mechanical clock-like daily routine which gives no opportunity for the manifestation of special gifts?

What is a teacher to do with specially gifted children after she has been marked unsatisfactory at one of our greatest teacher training schools because in answering certain questions she showed that she had read on in advance of the assignment given to a graduate class of teachers and therefore was not supposed to know and could not properly be credited for opinions which she would not normally encounter until a fortnight later?

Laymen's interest truly says that the way to discover those who have musical ability is to give all of us musical expression, to have us sing and love singing, to test our aptitude for playing the piano by having us play the piano. The road to loving art is doing art that one feels; the power to give is disclosed by giving rather than by doing something which in the remote future may lead to ability to give.

Once having assumed responsibility for training the possessors of special gifts so that they will in turn consider themselves stewards of special talents, it should be the ambition of governments to facilitate and expedite the working of nature's law that yesterday's special gift becomes today's general luxury and tomorrow's general comfort. By doing our utmost to universalize every special gift that is now before our eyes, we bring to light still rarer gifts. Every new special gift which society discovers and enjoys stimulates keener and wider effort to abolish special privilege and to compel public participation in private ability to render special service.

Five types of special gift familiar to readers represent untold resources for promoting public welfare if society will only set out to harness them to citizenship work, as our war revenue bill is tapping heretofore untaxed sources of public revenue. The gifts are first listed together in order to help the reader decide in how many ways he is specially gifted and what ac-

quaintances best epitomize each of the five special gifts:

- (1) Exceptional vision, comprehension or understanding of community needs, whether due to sensitive organization, unusual opportunity, or unusual use of Everyman's opportunity.
- (2) Talent, whether mechanical, literary, artistic, commercial or executive.
- (3) Personality that in its own covironment is exceptional and wins leadership, whether due to traits of character, physique, training, voice, eloquence, persuasiveness, or spirit of fellowship.
- (4) Opportunity of time or place or personal connection which gives special power.
- (5) Material wealth as defined, not by those who are wealth or by the possessor, but by those in the possessor's environment who are working for wages or have little or no material wealth.

Too often the exceptional advantages that come under the foregoing five heads are used for self-advancement with little or no thought of citizen obligations beyond giving the public what it demands and pays for. Only by special training of all of us to regard such gifts in whatever measure they are possessed as public trusts can we hope to succeed in persuading those who are notably gifted that they should direct their gifts toward furthering the public interest.

The seer or see-er who has the gifts of interpretatation and prophecy; the man of genius who invents flying machines or builds railroads; the woman with money beyond her capacity to enjoy spending it upon herself; the person who finds himself particularly favoured with respect to time or place or friends;—all of these must and can be headed toward public service uses of their advantages.

To help us think together of the same facts, let us cite a few cases where each type of special gift has given the possessor special enjoyment because he has used it for his fellow citizens.

Vision is more and more being regarded as a trust which should be used for the public weal. Sometimes vision merely means seeing actual, living, countable things before the public sees them; it may be the result of painstaking research or of quickly grasping the lesson from others' research. Sometimes vision is seeing things that have not yet any physical existence, as, for example, the probable utility of the city manager form of government, or the certain value of registering every suspected case of tuberculosis. Frequently vision or special understanding is seeing how new needs give special value to old truths. Whether vision is the result of inspiration or of infinite pains, it is nevertheless a public asset. It is almost always a public product, and should be given to or shared with the public.

A famous banker saw at the outset of our war with Germany that we were to spend sums which would "stagger the imagination"; that we were "bound to make mistakes" in an enterprise of this "colossal magnitude and difficulty"; that these mistakes would be noticed first by business men; and that "it is the duty of each one of us in such a case quietly and courteously to bring the facts to the attention of the official responsible." He took the first step in discharging his trusteesl.ip when he passed his vision on to two thousand other business men and to the public.

Our first congresswoman saw not only what others had seen, that the war would cause distress in the homes of fallen soldiers, but that it was her privilege and duty as congresswoman to secure timely attention to this anticipated distress. The newspapers of the country helped her share her outlook with the public by printing her appeal:

"The women who were left behind will bear the double burden of providing for the family and bringing up the children in a wholesome home atmosphere. Thus . . . we are greatly enhancing the responsibility of each woman in the soldier's family. A woman who bears these responsibilities is performing a service for the country which deserves compensation as a matter of justice and of ultimate social economy. We cannot allow the ravages of poverty to disintegrate our social structure while the earners are at the front."

That medical see-ers cannot ethically copyright their exceptional vision, has for generations been maintained

by the medical profession, one after another of whose leaders have promptly given to the public information and remedies which, if withheld, would have made them multimillionaires. The same patriotic motive led the inventor of the Babcock test for mechanically separating cream from milk to give away for nothing a discovery that has enriched hundreds of thousands of farmers by hundreds of millions of dollars.

More important in its total benefaction than are these exceptional visions, is the every day situation when a woman's club or a board of commerce or a teachers' organization is able to look over the fence that obstructs the public's view, sees some truth about public affairs which would lead to public action if the public itself should see it, and straightway gives that picture to the public, once, twice, fifty times if need be, until playgrounds are established, kindergartens introduced, tenement laws passed, full time health officer appointed, or city business methods put on an efficient basis.

The second special gift, talent, is in part its own reward. The world's greatest musicians probably sang quite as beautifully and with as much enjoyment when they were receiving \$100 a concert as today when they are receiving such unprecedented amounts as \$2500 a concert. It is not some new money passion among talented artists which is now enriching that craft which formerly was notorious for improvidence

and indifference in money matters. The money making genius still remains with professional money makers who by competition among themselves for the exclusive chance to exploit popular artists are forcing upon men and women of true artistic talent wealth of which the latter could not of themselves have dreamt. Is it not cause for sincere congratulation that Charley Chaplin, for example, if left to himself, could never have believed that his art was worth a million dollars a year?

It is the public rather than the inventor which has passed patent laws and copyright laws. Those of us who do not invent or write have passed these laws because we ar convinced that talent will try harder and more successfully it we guarantee in advance that it shall share in any substantial pecuniary benefits.

Tempting men to look for pecuniary profit is training them to think about pecuniary profit for themselves. Can we at the same time train them to use their talent for the public? President Roosevelt answered this question by converting men who were talented outlaws into talented detectors, arrestors and preventors of outlawry. How to incline the twig so that the tree will be bent toward public use of talent must be discovered for talent and for the other special gifts.

The third special gift, personality, is quite unevenly distributed. Judged by any other standard except that

the world is entitled to like what it likes, the rewards of personality seem to be quite unfairly distributed. Since, however, as Bernard Shaw has said, the chief purpose of self-government is to satisfy the self-governed, rather than to achieve any special degree of efficiency, we must be reconciled to the fact that a man six feet tall with a pleasing, powerful voice, good nature and persuasive manner will forever and a day have an advantage in any contest for popular votes over a man who is six inches shorter, irascible of temper and incapable of public speaking.

Personality's profits are vastly greater than the profits of talent or vision. It is only in biographies for popular consumption that the success of "successful men" and the leadership of "great leaders" are made out of industry and thrift multiplied by honesty and zeal. On the contrary striking successes can be explained far more often by striking personality than by exceptional thrift and industry. We need a new literature of biography that will tell the truth about the tremendous importance of what we call personality, and of discovering it early and overcoming its deficiencies by well known methods of cultivation which can do for personality quite as wonderful things as Mr. Burbank does when he makes the cactus bear luscious fruit.

Opportunity of time, place and personal connections is included amongst special gifts because persons who

are next to great leaders, great inventors, and great artists often play more determining rôles in the public use of these special gifts than do their possessors.

A secretary of a president of the United States is trustee of a wonderful opportunity, the use of which depends largely upon his attitude toward the public.

The secretary of a mayor or governor or university president or member of congress is also trustee of an unusual opportunity; if unaware of that opportunity, if he undervalues it, or if he appropriates its benefits to himself much public harm can be done and innumerable opportunities to help are lost. The general public can take a leaf out of the book of professional appealers for money who make it a point to "play up to," to "land," to win the confidence and favour of private secretaries, physicians, legal advisers or relatives of hoped for benefactors.

Unusual influence due to opportunity is by no means limited to persons in the neighbourhood of the specially gifted. Any one of us may find himself the one person best able to help a community meet an emergency or take advantage of some opportunity. The farmer whose land adjoins the country schoolhouse is the only man who has a special opportunity to add three or five acres to the school playground. When the nation wished to borrow two billion dollars our leading bankers in all sections found themselves possessors of a very special opportunity to help.

Similarly, when it became necessary for our government to purchase enormous quantities of war material, the men who theretofore had had little reason to think of government except to regret its extravagance or perhaps even to resent its taxes, found themselves suddenly in a position where their knowledge of their own business became over night invaluable to the government. From scores of these men possessing special knowledge, and therefore having special obligation, a council of defence was organized.

Later when President Wilson made an appeal to shippers and manufacturers against profiteering, that is against exploiting the nation's dire need for their own benefit, he specifically declared that he was saying only what the whole nation wanted to say, and saw nothing which the rest of us did not see. With regard to this situation, neither his vision nor his talent nor his personality gave him an added power or an added responsibility; on the contrary, it was the peculiar opportunity of place which made him the logical spokesman for a nation. With similar sense of trusteeship an increasing number of preachers each year use the special opportunity afforded by their responsive audiences to drive home appeals for patriotic citizenship.

Wealth as a special gift that imposes special obligations is better understood than the four other gifts. At this point may we caution the reader again that wealth is relative. Many a person who seems wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice to his neighbours in the country town, would have to live in a back street apartment house in New York City. The same newspapers which tell that a wealthy man has died leaving two hundred thousand dollars also tell that the courts have just decided that Baby X, Y, Z cannot live as he ought to live for less than the income on six hundred thousand dollars. For the same reason that when traitors become numerous enough, treason becomes respectable, it is true that where every man is a millionaire, the possession of a million or more is not a special gift, and so far as the multimillionaire group is concerned, imposes no special obligation.

To know whether a given amount of this world's goods is wealth or competence or financial stringency, we must know how each possessor ranks with others in his own social and industrial environment. He is rich compared with those who have less than he; he is poor compared with those who have more than he. Little headway can be made in a Democracy where those who have little or no money wealth, insist that the enormously wealthy shall accept for themselves standards of obligation which we do not apply when measuring ourselves against our own personal background and opportunity.

It is the ungifted who make the market or the audience or the background without which the specially

gifted can achieve neither personal happiness nor worldly success. There is reason enough for urging the specially gifted to use their advantages for public benefit, that only through such use of their surplus can the specially gifted be repaid for what they are giving to the world. Another sufficient reason for demanding public use of private gifts is that the special advantages possessed by the few among us are largely, when not entirely, due to things which the public has done. These facts are so clearly recognized by the specially gifted themselves that our problem is not to convert them to public spirited motives, but to help them find concrete opportunities for expressing these motives in action.

For every community there should be prepared up-to-date lists of community needs not yet met and community work that needs to be done. Obviously it will do little good to stimulate a spirit of responsibility unless communities advertise their needs. As the war has shown, special gifts are quickly diverted from selfish outlets to public spirited outlets when the possessor of special abilities is offered alternatives. If no way of helping the public is shown to the corporation president, he cannot be blamed for failing to think of his obligation to the public. It is not until a public use for private yachts or motor boats is obvious that the owner can sensibly consider making his yacht or motor boat available to the public. In ordinary times

Philip Sousa, premier band master and composer of inspiriting martial music, can give infinitely more pleasure by going where people pay to hear him than by offering his services to his country; it was the wartime need of our soldier boys at the French front which made it reasonable and patriotic for Mr. Sousa to volunteer his leadership

Here and there a school superintendent or a charities commissioner has in peace time; listed special opportunities for service gifts or money gifts. Almost always there are two givers for every call, as there ever facts about foster children have been published there are disclosed two childless homes wishing children, for every homeless child. The listing of community needs by public officers, private charities and those recently created community trusts which make a specialty of studying opportunities for givers, will progressively educate everybody including the specialty gifted to prefer personal pleasures that include and foster community pleasures.

Training for consecration can be best accomplished by advertising facts which cannot be sheltered in the mind without producing a ferment of neighbourly interest analogous to the ferment which leads to wholesome opportunity when yeast is mixed with flour and milk. The consecration which injures where it desires to help is conventionally illustrated by the fable of the elephant who was so remorseful because she had

crushed a setting hen with her foot that she sat on the eggs herself in order to hatch out the hen's brood. The consecration of the specially gifted will often have a similar result unless its sense of obligation is put to work upon carefully analysed public needs. Noblesse oblige was a good sentiment which became so perverted that it came to be synonomous with "nobility exploits."

Possessors of relatively large fortunes are dramatically trying out side by side, two distinct methods of handling those fortunes for the public benefit. In the same town, in the same industry, and now and then in the same man or woman these two methods of public spirited direction of private capital are being exhibited. It is almost as if there were a spirited competition between two ideas of trusteeship, one of which discharges its obligation through production or investments that build railroads or cheapen the cost of living, while the other gives attention or money or both to helping communities deal with other people's productive investments and with social conditions.

The interest which rich men and women and observing publics and discerning critics are taking in these two different expressions of the higher citizenship recalls a personal experience which illustrates this chapter's point that, when shown alternatives, the specially gifted will tend to become intensely interested

in using their talents for the public good. I was once asked by telephone if a small amount, \$500, spent on summer recreation for poor districts would do much good. I promised to investigate, and later reported that there were already so many different agencies at work on the particular city's recreation problem that an additional collaborator might easily do more harm than good. When asked what good could be done with \$500, I listed ten or twelve different needs. When asked for further details about certain needs which appealed to the questioning donor, I did my best to send information. Incidentally we were unable to secure a definite plan from one agency which I had suggested and whose work I knew sadly needed the money. A meeting was held for explaining more in detail the alternatives which interested the donor most. The interview proceeded like this:

- Q. How much would it cost to do the work for Little Mothers?
- A. Let's ask the woman physician in charge. . . . The doctor telephones that it will cost \$500.
- Q. All right, let's do that.

  How much would the work for the Junior
  Civic Leagues cost?
- A. Well, that is another case where you can do a great deal for \$500, and you can do four times as much for a thousand dollars.

Q. All right, let's try a thousand dollars. Now how about Item III, food inspection? . . .

To a participant's suggestion that too much was being tried the donor replied:

- Q. No, you leave me alone! This is the first time in my life that I ever thought of comparing different ways of giving away money. (Turning to me.)... What could you do with \$1500 for food inspection?
- A. Why, we could turn the town upside down for \$1500.
- Q. Well, then, go right ahead and turn it upside down.

If the public were an unbiassed judge that awarded confidence and praise with respect only to results obtained by the two different methods of using money power, this new competition between public motived attention to community work and public motived exploitation of private business would not be so one-sided. Fortunately, the two methods of self-expression in the interest of others are mutually infectious. Men and women cannot become intensely interested in community work, give to it time and money during their lives and large bequests in wills without becoming more responsive to appeals within and without

themselves for industrial and governmental justice and democracy; nor can anything prevent them from having extensive influence upon other men and women who have power to give. It is just as true that the men and women who, instead of trying to get everything they can for themselves our of their private business earnestly try to make their pusiness do everything it can for those engaged in it and connected with it, find themselves wanting to cross over the line into community work and also find their spirit directly and indirectly influencing large circles of colleagues and strangers. Thus, regardless of present public bias in favour of philanthropy, demo istrations that are being made by public spirited private business are rapidly weakening the invidious distinctions which heretofore have favoured private philanthropy.

A necessary step in training the possessors of extra wealth to use their wealth creatively, imaginatively and public spiritedly is for the general public to apply the adage, "Handsome is as handsome does," to money kept at work as well as to money given away.

Strictly speaking, the man who raises the minimum wage for his labourers from \$3.50 to \$5 a day, or who lowers the price of his commodity ten per cent. may be as philanthropic in his motive as the man who establishes a half million or a hundred million dollar foundation. Yet so under the spell of much advertised philanthropy are we that even when we ourselves

are beneficiaries of increased wages or lower prices we think of our benefactor as a shrewd business man rather than as a philanthropist, and even when we are male-ficiaries of the benævolent man who endows a college or a foundation, we instinctively call him a philanthropist. How our thinking about private philanthropy and private business has been conventionalized, the following supposed case will help each of us see for himself:

Two partners possess equal interest in an extensive business, divided equally into two branches which make equal profits, each solely directed by one of the partners. We, a thousand of us, are so situated that we must buy things from each of them. The first man increases our wages one-fifth and reduces by onetenth the price of whatever he sells us. The second man keeps on paying us the old wages and keeps on charging the old prices. The partner who increases wages and reduces prices is not known to give a dollar to any private benevolent or private civic enterprise. The second partner who failed to increase wages and to reduce prices contributes liberally to benevolent and civic activities, can be counted upon to help every "good cause," built a wing for the new hospital, and endowed a research foundation. If entirely honest with ourselves, which of these two men would you and I instinctively call a philanthropist? In your own community, are you yet able to keep on your hat in the presence of private philanthropis's whose reputation for dodging taxes is quite as notable as their reputation for what is technically called benevolence?

The reason for extending these illustrations and questions about different ways of infusing benevolent motive with public spirit is to prepare the way for challenging several present day prejudices: it is not wrong to look a gift horse in the mouth; it is not true that it makes no difference how that part of a fortune is made which is later to provide philanthropy; it is not even true that it makes no differ ce how money is made upon which excess taxes or excise taxes are paid; calling work charitable or educational does not of itself keep that work from being uncharitable and mis-educational; the public cannot afford to forget that the test of private philanthropy, private education, and private religion is what they do and cause to be done to society directly and indirectly; it is by no means always true that wealthy men help society more by retiring from an active business at fifty or sixty years of age, and thereafter devoting themselves to philanthropy and volunteer public service than they can help by carrying their business load to the end of their destination.

Before applauding the proposal that men of large affairs should stop making money other than the interest which money itself will make for them, the public must learn to wonder, question, and suggest. We all remember instances where the newspapers extolled the public spirit, unselfishness, breadth of view, and philanthropy of such conduct. Private agencies in need of funds swarm around the rich men who give up business for philanthropy like flies around honey. But unlike the fly, they fill the air with eulogies of their benefactor and with pæans of that gratitude which is a lively sense of favours to come. It would be quite unfair to deny the business man's right to arrange for more play in his life, for travel, rest, selfeducation, relief from tension. He has a perfect right to stop work and to live on his income. It is generous of him to contribute from his new leisure and from his assured income for the advancement of as many communities as possible. We can, however, give him full credit and unstinted praise for this public spirited use of his extra talents without miseducating others who are still in the harness of business to believe that they have less opportunity or less obligation while in the harness than they would have if they retired.

What worthier existence is there than for the man with extra capital to stick to his last and to live out the life of a model employer, model taxpayer, and model citizen? Even where business is primarily exploitation of the public, the mere retiring from active management while still drawing dividends from uninterrupted exploitation may be shoving the public from the frying pan into the fire.

A minimum essential for public opinion is to apply to the use of wealth for philanthropic purposes the point of view which Whittier veiced when he said:

"Thou well canst spare a love of these Which ends in hate of mar."

Benevolent foundations, no matter now large their annual gifts, must be neither encouraged nor permitted by the public to hold the position which several of them stated to the Industrial Relations Commission of 1915, that they are not even remotely responsible for the labour conditions which produce their income. No general public can think straight about the duties of individual citizens to government which applauds or tolerates the belief by trustees of foundations that simply because they own large blocks of stock in a corporation whose hired strike breakers shoot women and children they are under no special obligation to look into this method of protecting profits.

If our two most celebrated American givers, Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller, had given to their obligations as employers, manufacturers and merchants their best attention during the last generation when they have been admonishing other multimillionaires to find happiness in large giving — if they had stayed at the helm until they had secured in every industry from which their wealth is derived, the standard of living and working conditions which several leading multi-

millionaires today declare are minimum essentials—who can be sure that they would have done less good than through their foundations and other public giving? And why might they not also have established their foundations while applying to their sources of wealth the same methods of research which the foundations were organized to apply to medicine, education, science and government?

At present, you and I can only guess at what the results would have been had Mr. Carnegie made it his ambition to become a model employer, a model customer, a model citizen of all steel towns instead of a library and foundation builder! We can only guess what would have happened in industry and commerce and government if Mr. Rockefeller's power of analysis had been turned upon himself as citizen, employer and servant.

Recent developments in the industrial field throw so much light upon wealth origins that it is hoped some special student of sociology will take the time to work out in detail a comparison year by year of what these two expounders of the gospel of wealth might have accomplished through industrial reorganization. When one national corporation establishes medical examination with clinics and dental chairs and washrooms and physical training, not as sops to labour's discontent, not as tips to labour's sense of justice, not as benevolence, but as shrewd business

investment, its example is followed by a nationwide demand for what was previously called welfare work to be installed now as minimum essentials of safety first for investor and labourer alike. When the Ford Motor Company announced a minimum wage of five dollars a day, co-operative sharing in business profits for labourer and customer, and a fair chance for any man to prove his worth no matter what previous mistakes he had made, it did something for citizenship and public service which rivals any contribution ever made through library, university or foundation.

If America's great philanthropists had as business men proposed the social reforms which as business men and capita'i ts they have so generally opposed, future generations would be calling them the highest type of statesman, educator and benefactor.

Revulsion is taking place against giving for giving's sake and against building up vested bulwarks of conservatism in foundations. This tendency is showing itself in two forms: one is the community trust which invites gifts for no specific purpose and guarantees that year by year the income shall be used for meeting those needs which are most urgent each year; the other is a widespread fear of foundation interference through subsidy or advertised advice and a resulting demand for government supervision of private benevolence.

Should public giving be discouraged? On the con-

trary, public giving should be encouraged and public opinion should be enlightened as to where special gifts exist so that public giving will be practically compulsory. The best service, however, that any giver can render is to carry his own responsibilities as employer, taxpayer and citizen, and then to use such surplus as he gives to the public for the special purpose of making that particular kind of giving unnecessary. The best substitute for unwise or selfish giving is well directed and unselfish giving. Whether an individual's giving is wise and unselfish depends primarily upon what the general public knows and sees and its fidelity in keeping always in the foreground a list of community needs not yet met.

No specially gifted class is more in need of training for citizenship and public service than the class of actual and potential givers of large sums of money, unless it is the class of actual and potential givers of small sums in excess of one's own needs. Since, however, any method of general education which applies to those able to give largely will include methods necessary in order to interest those able to give on a smaller scale, let us confine our questions and suggestions to the "big giving."

We all have some unearned increment, some quality or possession that to some neighbour, coworker or servant seems a special gift. The surest way to do our part in training others whose special gifts seem to us to impose special obligations is to recognize our personal obligation to use our vision, knowledge, wealth, opportunity and patriotism for better citizenship and more democratic public service.

# CHAPTER XIV

# L'AVENIR EST MAGNIFIQUE

'After nearly a century of devastating wars which alternately glorified and then nearly ruined one European nation after another, Victor Hugo wrote to the young men and women of France that they should look for the glory of their country not in its past but in its future; not in the exploits of war but in the services of peace; not in what great generals had done but in what remained for great privates to do.

In successive stirring appeals he took as his text Vavenir est magnifique. Nor did he lose himself in rapturous dreaming about an inevitable future that was bound to come regardless of what young France might do. On the contrary, he sang of future glories which would come to France only if her young men and young women would seek their opportunity through work that remained to be done.

Today, in 1917, in the midst of time's most devastating and least justifiable war, l'avenir est magnifique, the future is glorious, but that glory has its price and its conditions. It is not coming whether we want it or not. It is not being sent. Its star will not ad-

just itself in the heavens to the low and shifting gaze of selfish, short-sighted, unimaginative patriotism. On the contrary, our future's glory is to be earned. It is coming only if we work hard enough, consistently enough, and intelligently enough to take ourselves and fellow-travellers to it.

Not even the suffering of this world war will bring future glory. Heaven knows that the suffering has been great enough to pay for any glory our hearts' eyes can picture; but the world is so ordered that future glory must be won by future service and not by past suffering or past glory.

In making the world's future magnificent, we must depend upon the character, talent and technique of our privates.

An inglorious future awaits any twentieth century nation whose privates misread their own past; whose privates glorify war; whose privates fail to see straight and think straight about the more decisive incidents and personalities of the war and about its legacies. Like school boys on graduation day, privates will find themselves with a sheepskin or diploma that is meaningless to the rest of the world and to themselves except as it is a constant reminder that they have yet a great work to do.

Each individual's future is glorious or inglorious according to what he alone aims at and attains. No one who has been alive to the world events of the year

# A Reader's Snapshot of the Reader's Preparedness for Citizenship

Use check (V) in blank spaces for rapid self-analysis. If in doubt write a question mark and decide later.

#### As to my patriotism

- I. Have I been calling myself patriotic? Yes....no....
- . 2. Am I really patriotic? Throughout....in most important matters....seldom....
  - 3. Is my type of patriotism a menace to my country? Clearly...possibly...no....
  - 4. Would one hundred million people acting and feeling as I do, be considered patriotic? Yes...no....
  - 5. Is my patriotism personal...partisan...sectional....

### As to what my unpreparedness is costing my country

- 6. Am I unprepared for citizenship at many points....at few points....no....?
- 7. Is my unpreparedness that of motive....of knowledge.... of habit....?
- 8. Do I notably waste time...food...money...health...personal talents...opportunity for self-improvement...?
- 9. Am I notably well informed....ill informed....trying to become informed....indifferent....on public affairs?
- 10. Do I block society's progress....aid progress....create problems....help solve problems....?

### As to universal training for citizenship and public service

- II. Have I resisted training? Yes...no... Consciously? Yes...no... Unconsciously? Yes...no...
- 12. Have my opportunities for training been numerous.... continuous....infrequent....negligible....?
- 13. Do I want training for the poor only....for the rich too....for my children....for myself....?
- 14. Am I consciously trying to train my children for citizenship and public service? Yes....no....
- 15. Do I see where I can start training today....tomorrow....next fall....sometime maybe....?

# As to minimum essentials of privates

16. As a private citizen am I highly efficient....tolerable.... incompetent....a liability and millstone....?

- 18. Do I seek....or avoid....public service facts?
- 19. How much of the time am I public-minded? Generally...frequently...seldom...never....
- 20. An. I for truth regardless of party or man...or for party and man regardless of truth...?

#### As to straight thinking

- 21. Have I been trying to think straight in business matters? Yes...no.... In public service matters? Yes...no....
- 22. Have I learned the habit of thinking straight? Yes.... almost....not yet.... \m I logical....or illogical....? prejudiced....or unprejudicea....? lazy....or industrious....? dependent....or independent....?
- 23. Do I desire to know the truth....or to confirm my prejudices....?
- 24. Does my questioning begin with locating a sma'l unit of inquiry? Usually...sometimes...never....
- 25. Before making up my mind do I habitually count the units of inquiry? Yes....no.... Make comparisons? Yes.... no.... Subtract to find the size of difference? Yes.... no.... Summarize and classify to find the meaning of differences? Yes....no....

## As to work as private in volunteer civic work

- 26. To how many civic agencies do I belong....? Is that my share....too many....too few....?
- 27. Have I thought of civic work as public service? Yes....
- 28. Have I thought of my civic work as equal to public service....or more important....less important....than my duty as citizen and taxpayer?
- 29. As a member do I work my share....too much....too little....?

30. Do I participate and follow questioningly....or blindly....?

#### As to drillmasters and leaders

- 31. In what am I leader? ......
- 32. Am I in training for leadership? Yes....no....
- 33. Do I work...mark time....or soldier...when given chairmanships?
- 34. Do I treat offices as honors for myself....or as opportunities....and obligations....to serve?
- 35. Do I judge leaders by results....social qualities....or probable benefits to myself....?

## As to the learned professions

- 36. How many professional men do I know intimately, lawyers....dentists....musicians....others....?
- 37. Is my thought on public questions influenced by them very much....considerably...little...none....?
- 38. Am I more influenced by public-spirited....or by self-centered professional men....?
- 39. Am I helping train professional men by expecting public service of them? Yes...no....
- 40. What professions are organized for civic work in my locality? ......shall inquire....

#### As to civil service

- 41. Do I do my kind of work well enough for civil service? Yes...no....
- 42. Do I habitually disparage civil service? Yes....no....
- 43. Have I been distinguishing between efficient and inefficient civil service? Yes...no....
- 44. Am I expecting enough of civil service? Yes....no....
- 45. Shall I begin to make more definite interest in civil service today....tomorrow....next year....sometime maybe....?

### As to special gifts

46. Which of the five special gifts do I possess? 1) exceptional vision, much...negligible...; 2) talent, notable....appreciable...none yet discovered...; 3) personality, notable...exceptional...none...little...; 4) op-

- portunity of time...place...and personal connection ..., great...little...none...; 5) material wealth, much...relatively little...none....
- 47. Do I regard these special gifts as public trusts....or as private snaps....?
- 48. Am I thinking straight 2001; public obligations of great foundations? Yes....not yet....
- 49. Do I judge my use of my special gifts a lightly tile very talented and the very rich? Yes...rot yet....
- 50. Is it easy....or hard....for special gifts in my locality to escape notice?

### As to parenthood

- 51. Is it desirable....or undesirable....to have a nation of parents with my qualities?
- 52. Am I consciously training for the seven fields cre training for parenthood is easily obtained? 1) household arts, yes...no...; 2) household accounts and family budget making, yes...no...; 3) physical training, yes...no...; 4) recreation, yes...no...; 5) character analysis yes...no...; 6) sex health, yes...no...; 7) manuers, yes...no...
- 53. Are my deficiencies serious....negligble....easily correctible....?
- 54. Could my use of my opportunity in reading be commended to a nation of parents? Yes....no....
- 55. Comparing my practice and theory with my opportunity to vrain am I ahead....up to grade....backward....?

# As to my after-the-war citizenship

- 56. Do I today face forward....or face backward....?
- 57. Do I now consider that my after-the-war obligations will be commensurable with my after-the-war opportunities? Clearly...vaguely...gladly...rebelliously....
- 58. Do I expect to continue to live at the centre of the world? Yes...no....
- 59. Have I determined to think straight about after-the-war problems? Yes...not yet....
- 60. Shall I continue training for citizenship and public service? Surely....maybe....definitely....indefinitely....

1917 will ever be able to forget what it means to be a slacker even after the public ceases its conscription, its census taking, its exemptions. From the penalties of feeling unprepared there is no exemption. The man who is conscious of being a menace or a millstone must be unhappy.

To help the reader take an inventory of his present attitude, his present training and his present habits the accompanying score card or list of questions for marking is suggested as a means of entertainment and of self-training. To promote and facilitate self-analysis, different shades and degrees are provided for each quality or attitude listed. The blank spaces are left to make it easy to check one's decisions. Occasionally a question mark is inserted to suggest that the reader who may be in doubt as to the answer might profitably make a check after it to mean *I will investigate further*.

Those readers who can more comfortably look at a mouse or a snake than at evidences of personal deficiency may gain some amusement and indirect benefit by marking a life companion or perhaps some hero or pet aversion among acquaintances.

Is the chart too long? Or are the questions too few? If life were so simple that one's own preparedness could be summarized in a sentence and tested by one check, there would have been no war in the twentieth century.

Paradoxically it is also true that it was the attempt of European governments to condense numerous and complex questions into single propositions which precipitated this war. No one can help solve the problems of civilization's reconstruction who is unwilling or unequipped to break problems into their elements and to think straight about one element at a time before trying to think about all elements all of the time.

The great advantage of habitually breaking problems into their elements is that this habit helps one discover the next best step for oneself to take. The habit of taking best next steps one after another fosters clear and balan d vision which in turn helps keep the ultimate goal shining in the heavens and the searchlight of experience illuminating the path ahead.

For most privates and leaders the greatest single opportunity to help after-the-war is by way of the nation's greatest single need, namely, straight thinking about the work which the war will leave to be done.

The need for straight thinking was paramount before the war but it was not so clearly understood; it is when the machine breaks down that private and specialist concentrate attention upon its parts.

Normal forces have temporarily been checked. Hardly one single activity has been unchanged. Private and corporate rapacity has in some instances been given rein and must be put back in its place; in other instances rapacity has been temporarily checked and will break out again with renewed vigour as soon as war-time restrictions and compulsions have been removed.

Troublesome questions, unnumbered, remain to be threshed out. Progress such as man has not yet conceived will be within reach if we take the best of several offerings and avoid such mistakes as followed our Civil War. Every patriot will be tempted to look back rather than ahead, and to live all over again the issues and emotions of world conflict, when instead his energy will be sorely needed for solving new problems.

War fortunes will start a new moneyed aristocracy. Many leaders in war work will be asked to continue leading, or will expect to continue leading, in other causes for which they will often be little equipped or only equipped to lead backward.

Corporations of capital and labour seeking either favourable legislation, increases in rates, removal of restrictions or of special burdens, etc., will trade upon their war-time patriotism in later appeals for public concessions. Their pleadings will not be self-evident but will require challenge and analysis.

There are other diseases besides trench diseases and sex diseases which war breeds to menace posterity. No war-bred and war-fostered disease has such terrible capacity for criptling and sapping Democracy's strength as has the many-sided disease which sometimes breaks out in demands for undemocratic censorship of news and cable and speech, and at other times manifests itself by intimidation of the minority by a majority or even intimidation of the majority by a small and active minorsty.

The greatest of all dangers is that the people at large will not read correctly what is happening before their very eyes. To the extent that we read carefully what is happening before the war ends, may we hope to read carefully what will happen after the war ends. For example, only by understanding the ease with which we are raising billions for war purposes can we after-the-war find it easy enough to raise other billions for equalizing opportunity through better schools, better housing, better health, better labour conditions, and better control of distribution and recreation

In the memory of men now living and of their children, this war will be the greatest event and the greatest idea displayable in one word. It is important that we learn to think straight about its significance. We cannot afford to have our children and our children's children struggling to earn the glories which the future offers with visions that are blinded by half-truths and untruths.

Instead of imposing restrictions upon straight think-

ing the exigencies of war impose on each of us unescapable obligations to use every power within us to see straight and to keep our patriotism suffused with the light of sincerity.

Finding the money to pay war taxes; foregoing profits; sacrificing comforts and necessities; fighting in European trenches, on American warships or from American airships; and sending our boys and girls to do this fighting and to heal the wounded, are easier tasks physically and spiritually than to face clearly and fearlessly the numerous controversial questions which will divide our leaders and our followers the minute the unifying force of war requirements is removed by peace.

Last week a French cousin's letter told of seeing a battle from a hill near Verdun where every movement and every shot was so distinct that he almost forgot that he was a participant whose life and country were at stake in that battle. He expressed the hope that he might some day in the same detached way see an open field battle of hand to hand combat with men and horses in the mêlée. Similarly we American participants in revolutions and battles of forces more portentous than any physical combat, will discover thrills of enjoyment after we have learned to look at the public mind and public action from the elevation of events-analysis.

The least patriotic thing any one of us can do is

to accept for himself without analysis the explanation, the can'ts and don'ts and musts which may be put out by official or unofficial leaders for public consumption.

It is a sham patriotism that condones a truth-distorting Fourth of July appeal to American pride and gratitude for an alleged sea-fight victory or misleading publicity about war or peace at any time.

It is blind patriotism which fails to see that the civil service functionary in democratic France was before the war depleting the vitality and limiting the liberty of the French people quite as dramatically as the present world-hated German autocracy was crippling individual initiative among the German people.

It is dangerous patriotism that shuts its eyes to the fact that the statesmen of democratic Britain failed to tell Germany in time, out loud and unmistakably, that Britain would spend her last dollar to protect Belgium's neutrality.

And what an anaemic patriotism is it that considers a man who goes to war at his country's call in spite of thorough disbelief in that call less patriotic than another man who frankly says he goes because he wants war, personal participation in it, and perhaps personal honours from it!

Failure to think straight about war questions has set loose forces in this country which are worse than poisoned springs because they have led millions of us to delegate to others the most priceless gift of Democracy, namely, independence of thought. Dependent thinking means crooked thinking. It is tragic to think how near the American people came to passing laws that for the period of a war whose continuance depends upon other nations, would have prevented frank American discussion of American conduct and American officers.

The future which we want to deserve calls upon us, young and old alike, to do our own thinking and to do it straight. We may make mistakes; we have a right to make mistakes; but we have no right to anaemic, vicarious, dependent, crooked thinking about patriotism.

L'avenir est magnifique.

The future of American Democracy has its price and its conditions, as well as its rewards. To meet those conditions and to earn our share of that future's rewards requires that each of us shall prove his title clear to American citizenship by learning and liking and living the arts of public service.

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